

THE JOURNEY OF
Theophranes

TRAVEL, BUSINESS, AND
DAILY LIFE IN THE
ROMAN EAST

JOHN MATTHEWS

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THEOPHANES

Travel, Business, and Daily Life
in the Roman East

JOHN MATTHEWS

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Frontispiece: The image of Antioch in the Peutinger Map. Ancient World Mapping Center, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

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Preface

IT IS MANY YEARS SINCE, in the early stages of my graduate work in later Roman history, I first encountered Theophanes of Hermopolis. I read about him in the pages of a typically enterprising article by Ramsay MacMullen on imperial bureaucrats in the Roman provinces, from which I followed through the reference to C. H. Roberts's publication of Theophanes' family and business papers in the collection of Greek and Latin Papyri held by the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester. What I found was an extensive collection of memoranda about travel, living costs, and diet relating to the journey Theophanes made from Hermopolis to Antioch and back that is the subject of this book. For all its evident interest, the material was dense and not very inviting; it did not speak from the living page and, in the more austere learned traditions of those days and despite the fact that its vocabulary lay outside the familiar boundaries of Classical Greek, it offered no translation and little commentary. As time went on I often looked at Theophanes' journey with the idea of making it better known but did not do so with really serious intent until much later, in the midst of other preoccupations and duties that always seemed to claim first place.

The core of the book is a translation of the Greek text of the travel memoranda preserved in the Theophanes archive. It is presented in installments, covering in turn the outward journey from Hermopolis to Antioch and the preparations for it (chapter 3), the period of almost three months during which Theophanes and his party were resident at Antioch (chapter 5), and the journey home (chapter 6). With the help of some papyrus letters involving Theophanes or written to him, I have added portraits of Theophanes as a leading citizen of Hermopolis

and of the city itself and offered suggestions about the origins and purpose of his journey (chapter 2). I have used comparative material to describe the circumstances of travel in the Roman empire of Theophanes' time and to evoke the great city of Antioch (chapter 4); and in the last two chapters (7 and 8) I have addressed questions of living costs and diet, for which the memoranda provide rich and, as far as I know, unparalleled evidence.

In setting at the heart of my book the translated texts, together with visual resources in the form of maps, plans, and pictorial images, I have tried to give it something of the character of a working manual of some of the methods used by ancient historians, but there is a point of special interest I wish to emphasize at the outset. The archive of Theophanes has survived because of the particular climatic conditions that have yielded so many thousands of papyri from the communities of the Nile valley. The journey that is so richly documented by the memoranda was, however, to places outside the borders of Egypt. The memoranda provide information about these places on a level of detail that is normally available only within Egypt, and in doing so they overcome the limitation often felt of papyrological evidence, that it refers in untypical detail to a region that may itself be untypical. The Theophanes memoranda present us with a quite different situation. Here we have the wider world of the later Roman east and one of its greatest cities documented in a way that is not just untypical of the evidence but unique in it, and it is almost totally unexploited.

I have felt some hesitation along the road to publication, in that I am not a trained papyrologist, and I take seriously the suggestion of Hélène Cadell mentioned in my introduction, that Roberts's publication is in need of a second look from an expert eye. But I do not think that such a revision would generate the need for a total reassessment of the text, and I maintain the principle that the chief purpose of the publication of papyri, as of any other ancient text, is to make them available to those who wish to use them without being expert in their technical features. I have, however, taken the opportunity to inspect the original papyri in combination with Roberts's published text and wish to thank Lorraine Coughlan and her colleagues in the John Rylands Library for their help in making this possible. Some textual amendments I have to suggest in the light of this study, together with other points of interpretation, are listed in appendix 2. Apart from these, my main points of difference from Roberts are that I do not accept his opinion that the six columns of household inventory occurring in *P.Ryl.* 627 are part of the preparations for Theophanes' journey; while on the other hand I do believe that *P.Ryl.* 639 records the early part of Theophanes' residence at Antioch. It has been suggested to me that I should print a version of the Greek text together with my translation, but apart from my lack of qualifications to do so, my wish to make the archive more accessible is uncompromising. Roberts's text is very well presented in a standard publication, and those who need to consult it for technical reasons should be able to do so without too much difficulty.

I have had the opportunity to present aspects of my work at seminars held at the University of California at Berkeley and at Columbia and Cornell Universities, at a conference held at

the University of South Australia in 2001, at the Papyrological Institute sponsored by the American Society of Papyrologists and generously supported by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, held at Yale in the summer of 2003, and most recently at the University of Leicester. I remember in particular the suggestions I received on these various occasions from Susanna Elm, John Bodel, Rafaella Cribiore, Ann Hanson, and Colin Adams, none of whom will mind my saying that the benefit of such seminars goes beyond the individual contributions made, to the collective spirit of interest and vigorous discussion they generate. I am grateful to my former graduate student and now professional colleague as well as good friend, Edward Watts, for the invaluable help he gave me in assembling and organizing the material on food and prices contained in the memoranda and also for reassuring me that his students at Indiana University, like mine at Yale, have found the material interesting. I have learned much, and avoided several mistakes, through the advice of the two readers, Dr. David Potter of the University of Michigan and Dr. Timothy Renner of Montclair State University, to whom Yale University Press sent my book for review. I wish to thank Dr. Dorothy Clayton, of the John Rylands Library, for her willing permission to reproduce two photographs of documents in the Theophanes Archive and John Tait and his colleagues at the Egypt Exploration Society in London for permission to reproduce three of the papyrus letters published by B. R. Rees in the society's *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* of 1964. Professor Tait introduced me to Dr. Nikolaos Gonis, of the Papyrology Rooms in the Sackler Library at Oxford, who helped me to trace the history of the Theophanes texts published by Rees; while Dr. Csaba Láda, of the University of Manchester and the John Rylands Library, Manchester, helped me to follow through a story that seemed for a time to have ended, strangely enough, in a salt-mine in Cheshire, where the papyri were being stored while the historic library in Deansgate undergoes restoration. I am most grateful to Dr. Láda, and to Professor Roy Gibson of the Department of Classics at Manchester, for their help in recovering the papyri so that I could make a final check of certain details. I have received assistance from Carlos Noreña in preparing for publication the photographs of the papyrus letters from *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* and from David Driscoll in preparing those from the Napoleonic *Description de l'Égypte*. Patrice Cauderlier kindly sent me a copy of the publication in which appears his article on the journey of Theophanes referred to in chapter 1. The maps have been drawn by Bill Nelson, and the striking, very observant "realization" of the Antiochene topographical mosaic in chapter 4 is by Tina Re; I have learned a lot about the mosaics by seeing them through her artist's eye. I offer my best thanks to all, and to Keith Condon for presenting the book for publication by Yale University Press and for seeing it through its final stages, as well as to Lawrence Kenney for his careful and extremely helpful editorial work. The book has been published with the generous assistance of the Frederick W. Hilles Publication Fund of Yale University and the Yale Department of Classics.

In the course of researching and writing this book I have become ever more aware of the fascination and importance for historians of the ordinary things of life as they are documented in ancient texts. Theophanes' journey to Antioch lasted a few months only, but for this short

time he and his party become real people for us. They lived, traveled, worked, spent their money, ate, and drank as people do, the more significantly for us because there was nothing unusual about it. In saying this, I am again very aware of the influence of Ramsay MacMullen, the subtitle of whose collected articles, *Changes in the Roman Empire: Essays in the Ordinary*, evokes exactly what I think is to be gained from the archive: something precise, concrete, and informative, revealing general themes through its detail. I owe to Ramsay a debt of gratitude, which I acknowledge with great affection, for all that his writing and his so often unexpected questions have shown me about the ancient world (and, of course, for introducing me to Theophanes). And again I add my thanks to my wife, Veronika Grimm, for sharing with me her knowledge of food, drink, history, and the world at large, for reading this work and listening to me talking about it, for sharing my eyestrain before the Rylands papyri (we remember with a shared sense of the incongruous our jet-lagged excursion from the John Rylands Library through the streets of Manchester in search of a magnifying glass), and for her encouragement at all stages of the work. To live with someone trained in the sciences as well as in ancient history is to have an ever-present reminder of the importance of the empirical method, for in the opinion of both of us this is really all one has.

Abbreviations and Short Titles

<i>BL</i>	<i>Berichtigungsliste der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten.</i> Relevant are vols. 3 (1958), 5 (1969), 6 (1976), 8 (1992), 9 (1995), 11 (2002)
Bruns, <i>FIRA</i> ⁷	K. G. Bruns, <i>Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui</i> (7th ed. by O. Gradenwitz, [Tübingen 1909, repr. Aalen, 1969])
<i>CCL</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CPL</i>	R. Cavenaile, <i>Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum</i> (Wiesbaden, 1958)
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
<i>CTh</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> , ed. Th. Mommsen with P. Meyer and P. Krüger (Berlin, 1905, repr. 1962); trans. Clyde Pharr and others, <i>The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions</i> (Princeton, 1952, repr. New York, 1969)
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
Moscadi	A. Moscadi, “Le lettere dell’archivio di Teofane,” <i>Aegyptus</i> 50 (1970): 88–154
<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i>	see bibliography, s. Boak, A. E. R.
<i>P.Herm.Rees</i>	B. R. Rees, <i>Papyri from Hermopolis and other documents of the Byzantine period</i> (Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman memoirs 42, 1964)
<i>P.Oxy.</i>	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> (London, 1898–); esp. vol. 54, ed. R. A. Coles, H. Maehler, P. J. Parsons (1987)

- P.Ryl.* *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester*, vol. IV (1952)
- P. Vind. Bosw.* *Einige Wiener Papyri*, ed. E. Boswinkel (Leiden, 1942)
- PLRE I* A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. I, AD 260–395 (Cambridge, 1971)
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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The Contents of the Theophanes Archive

(1) IN *P.RYL.* IV

616 Taxation list of Aegyptus Nova (between 314/5 and 324; T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, p. 211).

617 Petition to the emperors (317/24, probably early in this period). **635** is written on the back.

618–22 Fragmentary petitions. **618** and **621** concern disputes over inheritances.

623 (Moscadi **3**) Latin letter of introduction from Vitalis to Delfinius relating to Theophanes' journey, identical except for different addressee to *P. Lat. Strasb.* I to Achillius; *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* III (1906), pp. 168–72; Roberts, p. 104 (Moscadi **1**).

624 (Moscadi **4**) Letter of Hephaistion and (H)origenes to Theophanes, their father; cf. *P. Herm. Rees* 6 below (same hand except for subscription).

625 (Moscadi **5**) Letter from Theophanes to Anysius.

626 (Moscadi **6**) Letter of Theophanes to Anon. (fragmentary).

627 Memoranda and accounts, including inventories (not connected with journey), outward itineraries with staging posts and distances, expenditures on journey.

628 Alternative copy of outward itinerary.

629 Travel accounts; daily records of food and other purchases for month Pauni at Antioch.

630–38 Travel accounts; Antioch (conclusion of stay) and return journey. Note esp.:

631 + **632** + **634** fragments of same papyrus?

635 written on back of **617**

636 written on back of **621**

638 (fragment of return journey) written on back of **628**

639 Accounts for Antioch, month Pachon (very fragmentary).

640–51 Domestic accounts, mainly very fragmentary. Nos. **640** and **645** are wine accounts, **642** and **650** concern building.

In addition, **607** (Moscadi **2**), letter of Dionysius to Apion, may belong to the archive (for Dionysius as Theophanes' father cf. **625**).

(II) IN *P. HERM. REES*

2 and **3** (Moscadi **7** and **8**) Letters from Anatolius addressed respectively to Sarapio and Ambrosius. The two letters are in the same hand, make references to cults at Hermopolis, including that of Hermes Trismegistos, and both are to be carried/delivered by Theophanes. Addresses at the end, verso.

4 (Moscadi **9**) From Ioannes and Leon to Theophanes. Addressed "to our beloved brother Theophanes," with good wishes from many "brothers," including Dionysius, who had met Theophanes at Athribis.

5 (Moscadi **10**) Letter from Hermodorus to Theophanes, mentioning Anysius (cf. *P.Ryl.* **625**). For Hermodorus, see *P.Ryl.* **639**, lines 103, 275, etc.

6 (Moscadi **11**) Letter from Besodorus to Theophanes. In the same hand as *P.Ryl.* **624** but with second hand (Besodorus's own?) at end.

(III) ADD: Moscadi **12** Letter of Anatolios to Neilos.

Egyptian Months

THE ACCOUNTS use the Egyptian standard of a month of thirty days, divided into six accounting periods of five days each (see below, chapter 5). I list here the six Egyptian months covering Theophanes' journey, with their modern equivalents:

Phamenoth (Φαμενώθ) 18	14 March
Pharmouthi (Φαρμουῖθι) 1	27 March
Pharmouthi 6	1 April
Pachon (Παχών) 1	26 April
Pachon 6	1 May
Pauni (Παῦνι) 1	26 May
Pauni 7	1 June
Epeiph (Ἐπεῖφ) 1	25 June
Epeiph 7	1 July
Mesorē (Μεσορή) 1	25 July
Mesorē 8	1 August
Mesorē 23	16 August

1 Introduction

THE COLLECTION OF EARLY FOURTH-CENTURY PAPYRUS documents known as the Archive of Theophanes was published by C. H. Roberts in 1952, in volume IV of the *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester* (hence its standard abbreviation as *P.Ryl.* 616–51). It consists of a variety of texts concerning the activities of Theophanes as a wealthy gentleman of Hermopolis in the Egyptian province of the Thebaid, as a head of family and owner of property, and as a public figure. We find there financial and tax records, household inventories, wine accounts and building memoranda, petitions and personal documents. Additional material in the form of letters written to Theophanes or entrusted to him for delivery to third parties was published by B. R. Rees in articles of 1964 and 1968 and further discussed in a paper of 1970 by A. Moscadi.¹ These letters, which include two fragmentary texts written by Theophanes himself, show something of the social setting in which he moved and of the network of contacts in and around Hermopolis to which he belonged. All this is as interesting as only papyri can be, but what gives the archive a special claim on our attention is its major part, the memoranda relating to a journey made

1. B. R. Rees, *Papyri from Hermopolis and Other Documents of the Byzantine Period* (1964), pp. 2–12, nos. 2–6, and “Theophanes of Hermoupolis Magna,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester* 51 (1968), pp. 164–83; A. Moscadi, “Le lettere dell’archivio di Teofane,” *Aegyptus* 50 (1970), pp. 88–154. For a survey of the literature to 1987, H. Cadell, “Les archives de Théophraste d’Hermoupolis: Documents pour l’histoire,” in L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci (eds.), *Egitto e Storia Antica dall’Ellenismo all’Età Araba* (1989), pp. 315–23.

by Theophanes from Hermopolis to Syrian Antioch and back, in the pursuit of some business transacted at Antioch around the year 320.

The dossier of material relating to the journey, over fifteen hundred lines of close documentation, is a fascinating record of an episode in Theophanes' life. It also opens a window upon many aspects of social history. It contains information on travel, living costs and levels of expenditure, on communal life, religion, diet, and many other issues. These matters have not altogether escaped the attention of historians in these various fields. An important article (in modern Greek) published by J. Kalleris soon after the appearance of the archive discussed the terminology of its many references to food and drink, and a recent paper by H.-J. Drexhage studied the evidence for costs and prices relating to the period of Theophanes' residence at Antioch.² There are some characteristically acute remarks by Ramsay MacMullen on Theophanes in his public role, some informative pages in Lionel Casson's book on Roman travel, and a somewhat inaccessible article on the same subject by Patrice Cauderlier.³ The evidence about prices preserved in the archive has been used for comparison with prices in contemporary Palestine known from rabbinic sources and applied to the study of monetary inflation in the period.⁴ The more recently published letters involving Theophanes have contributed to study of the cult of Hermes Trismegistos ("Thrice-Greatest Hermes") in the city named after its famous god, and a letter of recommendation written on Theophanes' behalf, also discussed below, has been used to illustrate political and social patronage in Roman society.⁵

Considering its interest in all these perspectives, however, the material has rarely entered into broader descriptions of the social history of the Roman empire. I have, for example, read many discussions of ancient diet and eating habits, none of which (with the notable exception of Kalleris) has a word to say about Theophanes, despite the fact that for several hundred lines his memoranda produce information about daily food consumption in a known place and at

2. J. Kalleris, "'Trophai kai Pota' eis prōtobyzantinous papyrou" ("[Terms for] food and drink in early Byzantine papyri"), *Epeteris tes Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 23 (1953), pp. 689–715; H.-J. Drexhage, "Ein Monat in Antiochia: Lebenskosten und Ernährungsverhalten des Theophanes im Payni (28 Mai–24 Juni) ca. 318 n. Chr.," *Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte* 17.1 (1998), pp. 1–10.

3. Ramsay MacMullen, "Imperial bureaucrats in the Roman provinces," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 68 (1964), pp. 305–16, at 308–09; Lionel Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (1974), pp. 177–78, 190–93; P. Cauderlier, "Des bords du Nil à ceux de l'Oronte; le voyage de d'Hermopolis à Antioche du fonctionnaire Théophanès, vers 320 de notre ère," in *La Route; mythes et réalités antiques* (Colloque, Dijon 1991), pp. 87–104 (I am grateful to M. Cauderlier for sending me a copy of this publication). See too Colin Adams, "'There and Back Again': Getting around in Roman Egypt," in Colin Adams and Ray Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire* (2001), pp. 138–66, at 159–63.

4. Daniel Sperber, *Roman Palestine, 200–400; Money and Prices* (1974), pp. 107, 115, etc.; Roger S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Suppl. 5, 1985).

5. Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (1986); Hannah Cotton, *Documentary Letters of Recommendation in Latin* (Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 132, 1981), pp. 40–47.

a known time that as far as I know is unparalleled in the ancient evidence.⁶ From one point of view this neglect is understandable, for even as set out in Roberts's very full and careful presentation, the dossier presents many difficulties of interpretation—not merely because it belongs to those self-assured days in Classical scholarship when papyri could be published without translation and only a minimum of commentary to help the reader (in some cases, one could be forgiven for wondering whether any but other specialist papyrologists could understand them at all).⁷ Historians conscious of the interest of the archive may have hesitated to engage the technical, linguistic, and other problems attached to the material and form in which it is preserved. These problems are still more daunting to those who come to the dossier without any experience of papyrus documentation, and so I will begin with a few words about papyri and their use as evidence for social history.

Papyri belong to those categories of historical evidence that, by way also of archaeology and epigraphy, have, over generations of scholarship, gradually freed historians from the limitations of focus inherent in the literary sources. The new material, acquired with great patience and skill, has enabled new answers to be given to old questions, and new questions to be posed of areas of ancient life hardly touched by the literary sources; it has also enabled new questions to be put to the literary sources themselves. Papyri do this to an exceptional degree and with a sense of individual circumstance that is offered by no other source. They are full of substantive, detailed evidence that does not come to us in any other way. We should not expect, however, that the information they contain will simply fall into our hands without labor, for papyrology—the reading, presentation, and interpretation of the original texts—is an extremely technical and difficult craft.

The writing material known as papyrus—that is, paper—was made from the stem of the water-loving papyrus plant, which is now practically extinct in nature but once grew in profusion in the reed-beds of the river Nile and a few other places. The plant had an extraordinary variety of applications. The stems could be used for making light, buoyant boats very suitable for river navigation, while the woody roots could be made into furniture or used for firewood. The tough outer layer of the stem could be woven into baskets and sails and made into mats, ropes, sandals, and outer garments, and the pith (rather like sugarcane, though possibly less harmful to the teeth) could be chewed for the energy derived from the starch of which it was composed.⁸

6. The article of H.-J. Drexhage, "Ein Monat in Antiochia," does not cover the aspect of diet very fully.

7. See Roger S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (1995), noting esp. his remarks at p. vii: "Outsiders [to the discipline] are . . . often struck not by the breadth of application of the papyri but rather by the enclosed character of papyrology and the tendency of many papyrologists not to venture beyond what they construe as the bounds of the discipline; nor are many outsiders prepared to undertake the technical preparation necessary to meet the texts on their own terms."

8. For the papyrus plant and its diverse products, see E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (1968, repr. 1980), p. 3; Naphtali Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* (1983), pp. 128–30.

With all these and many other uses, papyrus was harvested on a vast scale in plantations where it was grown commercially. Naphtali Lewis cites a contract for the delivery of 20,000 stalks of papyrus, while in the same second-century document a debt of interest of 2 drachmas a month on a loan of 200 drachmas is settled in the form of a reduction below the market price of “a portion of their daily harvest up to a total of 20,000 one-armful loads, or 3,300 six-armful loads of papyrus stalks.”⁹ To put the matter in a different perspective, among the annual endowments given by the emperor Constantine to his church foundation of St. Peter at Rome were a total of 970 decads of papyrus and 1,000 clean papyrus stalks from five estates in Egypt, together with 150 decads of papyrus attributed to an estate near Antioch. The endowment adds up to 11,200 sheets of papyrus every year for the use of this one church.¹⁰

As this implies, manufactured papyrus, the writing material, was exported in great quantities across the length and breadth of the Roman empire. To make it, the outer skin of the papyrus stem is removed, and the inner layers are peeled off in strips. The strips are placed edge to edge in two layers, one at right angles across the other, which are then hammered or pressed together. The starch contained in the pith bonds the layers together without the need for adhesive or any other special ingredient. Both sides of the papyrus are used for writing, which is in the same direction on each side. On the first side, what we would call recto, the writing is in the direction of the fibres that form the surface; on the second (verso) it is across them—a difference that is obviously very helpful in telling us which side of a document was written first (the Theophanes Archive contains many examples of it). Though very strong and durable (ancient papyrus is surprisingly robust to handle, and modern reproductions of the medium are extremely tough), papyrus is an organic material which survives to modern times only in the extremely dry conditions found in Egypt above the water table and, occasionally, in similar circumstances elsewhere. Its survival, furthermore, is usually in conditions totally unrelated to its original use, such as wrapping and embalming, a particularly productive source being the rubbish heaps of the settlements in which it was discarded. Added to this is the fact that, being an organic material, it is edible to some little creatures, which seem to have an unerring taste for those parts of words that the historian would least have wanted them to choose.¹¹ Any published papyrus will contain that array of brackets, dots, queries, and other symbols that indicate the limits of what is directly legible on it, and its presentation will entail

9. *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 129. The text actually says, “20,000 one-armful loads and 3,300 six-armful loads,” but the figures are obvious equivalents.

10. R. P. Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis)* (2nd ed., 2000), p. 20. The 150 decads of papyrus attributed to the estate near Antioch could, like some of the exotic spices in the endowment, have been acquired by local agents and “traded on” to Rome; but the plant was grown in the wetlands near Antioch, cf. F. M. Heichelheim, in Tenney Frank’s *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. IV, p. 133. See below for Theophanes’ purchases of papyrus at Antioch.

11. Cf. Roberts on *P.Ryl.* 639 (p. 149): “two horizontal strips, each badly damaged by worms.” See chapter 5 below.

the use of judgment and conjecture as to what lay in the parts that no longer exist or are too badly damaged to be read.

As to the interpretation of papyri, apart from their often fragmentary nature there are two main challenges facing the historian: the individuality of the texts and the question of their typicality of the wider Roman world. The individuality of papyrological texts—by which I mean the fact that they usually survive from different places and times, in circumstances unconnected with their original use, and without companion texts that would give a sense of the context in which they were written—will be clear to anyone who opens a selection of them or collection of sources including them.¹² We may find a letter, a contract, a list, a complaint, a petition, and more of the same; but how do we relate these documents, with all their vividness and sense of concrete reality, to an intelligible broader context? The answer to this question lies partly in sheer accumulation.¹³ We can read *many* letters, *many* contracts, *many* lists, complaints, and petitions, and putting them together we may detect a pattern and draw general conclusions. So we have notable research on local government, demographic patterns, agricultural leases and tenancies, religious observances, and many other issues.¹⁴

A special form of accumulation is the papyrus archive, that is to say, a collection of papyri made by its original creators and either preserved intact as it was deposited or reassembled for publication in modern times. The latter case may involve recovery from many sources, since papyrus finds were often broken up and sold individually or in separate bundles to collectors, from whom they may, if we are lucky, have found their way into museums and university holdings.¹⁵ In such an archive we may find multiple documents relating to a group, or family, or army unit, over a period of time and in a variety of perspectives. Examples are the Abinnaeus Archive, which reveals in many facets the life of a military commander in Upper Egypt in the time of Constantius II, and the great Zenon Archive, unfortunately much dispersed, which documents in marvelous detail the work of a Ptolemaic financial agent of the third century BC.¹⁶

12. Such as the very good Loeb selection by A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri*, vols. I and II (1932/34 and reprinted); for a collection of sources including papyri, Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold, *Roman Civilization; Selected Readings*, vol. II: *The Empire* (3rd ed., 1990). See E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, esp. chapter 8, “Types of papyrus document.”

13. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, p. 129: “The very bulk of the material available is what gives it significance. In isolation, each text is an antiquarian curiosity; when the texts are gathered together, compared and contrasted with each other, in a work subjected to systematic study, results of scientific value can be obtained.”

14. See the bibliography of R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (1993), and his *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (1995). There is always new material to add.

15. See on archives, Turner, *Greek Papyri*, pp. 47f., 77f.; Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History*, pp. 40–48.

16. H. I. Bell, V. Martin, E. G. Turner, D. van Berchem (eds.), *The Abinnaeus Archive: Papers of a Roman officer in the Reign of Constantius II* (1962); C. C. Edgar (ed.), *Zenon Papyri, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, vols. I–V (1925–40)—producing a classic study, Michael Rostovtzeff’s *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.: A Study in Economic History* (1922).

The hard labor and element of chance that often lie behind the reconstitution of papyrus archives can be illustrated by the Theophanes archive itself. The central portion of the archive, consisting essentially of the documentary material that is the main concern of this book, was acquired by the John Rylands Library in 1901, having been purchased in Egypt around 1896 by the pioneering papyrologist A. S. Hunt. However, one of the few literary pieces in the collection, a letter of recommendation written (in Latin) by one Vitalis on behalf of Theophanes to the governor of an eastern province, also exists in a second, far better preserved version, written in the same hand to a different governor. This version had found its way into the Strasbourg papyrus collection, from which it was published in 1903, and it was the connection of the Strasbourg papyrus with the more fragmentary letter in the John Rylands collection that allowed the identity of the man of property and traveler of the Theophanes archive to be securely established.¹⁷ Then, in 1964, as mentioned earlier, more letters connected with Theophanes, together with other documents of the late Roman and early Byzantine period, were published by B. R. Rees for the Egypt Exploration Society in London. There is quite a story behind this publication. E. G. Turner and T. C. Skeat, the general editors of *Graeco-Roman Memoirs*, the series in which it appeared, described in their preface to the volume how the texts were found “in two tin boxes which came to light among many similar boxes in which the Oxyrhynchus papyri and other papyri collected by [B. P.] Grenfell and Hunt were stored.” Nothing was said about where the tin boxes were found, and no information could be given about the origin of their contents, except for the assumption that Grenfell and Hunt, as was their habit, had bought the papyri from local dealers during one of their seasons of fieldwork in Egypt. Indeed, as Turner and Skeat point out, the appearance for sale of such materials was “often the first indication of sites at which papyri were coming to light.”

A further clue is the curious fact that the papyri now published by Rees had been relaxed—the first stage in their physical preparation for decipherment—by being placed between discarded pages of issues of the *Oxford University Gazette* dated from May 1907 to October 1908. The fine-quality paper used for printing the *Gazette* was ideal for the purpose, and supplies of it were more or less infinite, since copies of it were (and still are) sent every Thursday to all teaching members and all departments and institutions of the university. Turner and Skeat remark affectionately on the familiarity of this mode of storage to all those who had worked on the Oxyrhynchus papyri, and I myself remember seeing piles of the *Gazette* with unpublished papyri interleaved in just this fashion in the study at Queen’s College of the great literary papyrologist Edgar Lobel.

It is not known how long before 1907/08 (Grenfell and Hunt’s last season in the field) the papyri found in the tin boxes had been acquired. By this time, however, both Grenfell and

17. *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 3, pp. 168f., cf. Roberts, *The Theophanes Archive*, p. 104: “a key to the whole archive.” The incomplete version of the letter in the Rylands collection (*PRyl.* 623) does not preserve the name of Theophanes. See further chapter 2 below.

Hunt, who had been undergraduate students at Queen's College, were Research Fellows of the College. Grenfell was elected in 1894, and Hunt, whose portrait, that of a typical Edwardian gentleman, still hangs in the College Office, in 1906 (a close contemporary of Grenfell, he had in the meantime been a Fellow of Lincoln College). It is no doubt in Queen's College that the tin boxes were found; it is a strange thought that they may once have sat just a few feet from the room in which I received my first tutorial at Queen's and which I many years later occupied as a Fellow of the College.

The full story, evidently, is that about 1896 a local dealer sold the bulk of the Theophanes papyri to Hunt during one of the earliest of his visits to Egypt, in the form in which they were acquired by the John Rylands Library. Some pieces, however, had been extracted from it and sold separately, possibly at different times, as items of individual value. These detached pieces included the complete version of the letter of Vitalis, which went to Strasbourg, and the documents to be published by Rees, which were acquired by Grenfell and Hunt some years after 1896 and taken back to Oxford. There they were entrusted to the pages of the *Oxford University Gazette* and stowed away in the tin boxes, together with other acquisitions belonging to the same general period, in or soon after 1908. *P. Herm. Rees*, the designation of Rees's publication suggested by Turner and Skeat, contains in all eighty-five documents of various types, most but not all of which come from Hermopolis. It is not altogether clear where (probably in Wales) Rees prepared the texts for publication, but I am informed that the letters referring to Theophanes (nos. 2–6 in Rees's publication, the only ones that concern us here) were sent to Manchester to be reunited with the archive in the John Rylands Library. The rest were returned to Oxford, where they still are.¹⁸

The archive also meets the second challenge set by papyrological sources, namely, the extent to which Egypt is typical of conditions in the rest of the Roman empire. It does so in a peculiarly effective fashion, precisely because it documents a journey made outside the borders of Egypt, along the coast of the Levant to Antioch. In fact, this part of the archive turns the question of typicality on its head, for it provides information about places beyond Egypt, on a scale and level of detail that are normally only to be found within it.¹⁹ For this reason alone, the archive should have been of particular interest to historians of the Roman empire.

In itself, the journey of Theophanes is a rather ordinary tale. It is certainly not among those “lofty places”—“negotiorum celsitudines”—that Ammianus Marcellinus considered the true domain of historical inquiry. Indeed, it is more like the things that Ammianus thought should be left out, the names of visitors to the urban praetor and of unimportant military stations,

18. I owe this and other information about the fate of the papyri to Dr. Nikolaos Gonis, of the Papyrology Rooms of the Sackler Library at Oxford, and to Dr Csaba Láda, of the University of Manchester and the John Rylands Library.

19. A point also made by H.-J. Drexhage, “Ein Monat in Antiochia,” pp. 1–2. The material has not found its way into any of the standard histories of Antioch (Petit, Downey, Liebeschuetz).

why common soldiers were punished, and so on (26.1.1). Nor is it inherently so remarkable. The journey between Egypt and Antioch was laborious, but people made it very commonly, as they made many other, far more ambitious journeys in the Roman empire. Indeed, the scale and frequency of land travel in the Roman empire somewhat belie the pessimism of those modern writers who point to the difficulties inherent in it. About a decade after Theophanes, in a round trip that took at least a year, a Christian pilgrim recorded a journey, city by city and stage by stage, from Bordeaux via Constantinople to Jerusalem to see famous biblical sites and the new churches built over them by Constantine, and back home to Bordeaux. What Theophanes of Hermopolis would have thought of this glimpse of the future must be left to the imagination. He would, I am sure, have found it regrettable, but there is no way in which he could have predicted it. At the time of his journey Constantinople did not yet exist, and Constantine was only the distant (though threatening) colleague of the eastern emperor Licinius, his already fervent Christianity still largely unknown to the eastern provinces. In the following pages the pilgrim of Bordeaux will serve as supporting evidence for the conditions of travel experienced by Theophanes, but we should never forget (as if we could) the different worlds to which they belonged.

The dossier of Theophanes is—indeed, it is literally—an everyday sort of history, but it is here that its real interest lies. Historical questions tend to fall into two groups, the interpretative—*why* things happen—and the curious or practical—*how* things happen, what life is like. What follows belongs to the second category but contributes to the first. To know the conditions of travel from Hermopolis to Antioch and the time it took to get there is to know something just as important to the Roman empire as the change of religion that was lurking around the corner at just the time Theophanes made his journey between those two places. The latter may be the more glamorous story, but it is not necessarily the more important.

It is equally obvious—at least I believe it to be true—that a society cannot be understood without a knowledge of the more ordinary, as opposed to the more spectacular events that dominate the interest of our ancient literary sources. Readers of these sources, and of those modern histories that derive from them, may have the impression that the angle of vision of the papyri is a narrow one compared with those vast, familiar perspectives, but in my opinion the opposite is so. Left unchecked (and I emphasize this reservation), a preoccupation with “*negotiorum celsitudines*” can result in a fearful narrowing of vision in favor of the powerful, the privileged, the self-important, and the eccentric. It should be no more than a commonsense observation, if it is not a plain matter of definition, that in all societies ordinary men behave in ordinary ways most of the time, and that these ordinary things, as much as the lofty places, are the proper concern of the historian.

So we gain from the dossier of Theophanes more than evidence for social history and more than methodological principles; we gain a way of looking at the world. Here is a late Roman public figure, a *scholasticus*, or practicing lawyer, presented in his own living and working context. We are familiar from our literary sources with advocates and lawyers, appearing in

courts and before tribunals, doing their work, with all its tendencies to self-promotion, in the public eye, before disappearing from view to resume the pleasures and anxieties of their personal lives. With Theophanes we see the converse of this: a public figure in his private setting—buying food, drinking and having meals with his friends and colleagues, looking after his slave attendants, going to the baths, sending a cloak to the laundry. It is a feature of the archive that for all the circumstantial detail it contains it does not clearly tell us why Theophanes had come to Antioch. This takes place, as it were, offstage. The nearest we come to Theophanes in his professional role is ironically expressive of what we do not know—papyrus rolls, bought for use in his court appearances and no doubt written all over but not preserved for us; and then, a flurry of activity at the end of his visit, as Theophanes buys his final batch of paper, pays a stenographer for his work on the agreement that has been negotiated, pays the rent to his landlady, and leaves the city.

Looking to the public domain, through the carefully recorded details of Theophanes' archive we catch many glimpses of the wider world in which he lived. We will see the reformed, "post-Diocletianic" world of the later Roman east, with its hierarchies of government agencies, its provinces and dioceses, its *officiales* and its Sarmatian soldiers, its Latin letters of introduction. Connected with this process of government expansion but also preceding it, a broader phenomenon, the penetration of the Latin language into the everyday Greek of the Near East, will make itself known. We will see it in some of the titles that occur in the memoranda (*officialis* itself, for example) and in various words for items of food and clothing and things encountered in everyday life—*cibarius* for common as opposed to refined bread and for ordinary olive oil, *tourtia* from the Latin *torta*, a particular type of loaf or flatbread, two words for varieties of sausage, both of Latin origin (*lucanica* and *isicia*);²⁰ *campestris* for a belt or girdle, *brekia* for *bracchia*, leggings or trousers, *pilion* for a hat, *phelonion*, descending in two stages from the Latin *paenula*, a cloak; *tabernion*, a diminutive form deriving from the Latin *taberna*, an inn or lodging, and so on. These are small signs, indeed, and the dossier of Theophanes is from the earliest decades of the fourth century, before the bureaucratic consequences of the reforms of Diocletian and the further expansion of the Latin language that these reforms entailed have become firmly established; but in these and other ways the Theophanes archive shows to the seasoned eye the clear signs of what we have come to know as the later Roman empire.

The real fascination of the archive is, however, a more general one, in the sense that from the prosaic details of inventories, traveling distances, and shopping lists we may, in the few months in which we meet him and with a little imagination, recreate a once living human being. In a way Theophanes is a documentary counterpart of those moving funerary portraits from the Fayum and other places in Egypt (including Hermopolis)—vivid faces, of men and

20. The memoranda in fact offer the first attested use of the Greek word *loukanika* for sausages—in both culinary and philological terms, a select item.

women, some beautiful, some ordinary, some young (and some very young), some middle-aged but few elderly, their eyes catching ours, even seeming sometimes to glance away, as if they were people we might pass any day in the street.

The travel memoranda from the Theophanes archive are here presented in the form of a translation and discursive commentary on the published texts. It could well be, as Hélène Cadell suggested more than fifteen years ago, that a new edition and textual commentary on the travel memoranda, such as that provided by Moscadi for the epistolary material, would be desirable.²¹ Revisions of papyri do have the habit of producing new and improved readings, but if there are shortcomings in Roberts's edition of the text, they are unlikely to displace unpublished material in the attentions of papyrologists (we have seen that publication of the Theophanes Archive itself and of the supplementary texts in *P. Herm. Rees* was not accomplished for more than fifty years after the acquisition of the papyri).²² It would be quite impractical to insist on all occasions that before a historian may use a papyrus text it should first be reedited. It is also a counsel of perfection. The great majority, if not all, of the published improvements to Roberts's text have themselves been made without sight of the original papyri, and it seems to me that, imperfect though it may be, his fine work and careful presentation deserve our confidence. I have, however, satisfied myself of the quality of Roberts's work by collating his published text with the original papyri. Where I differ in a reading or interpretation of the text I give my reasons in appendix 2, "Notes on the Text." In the meantime, as Sir Ronald Syme once wrote in a rather different context, one uses what one has, and there is work to be done.

I have tried to make the archive accessible to nonspecialist readers and to engage their interest in its interpretation; technicalities are kept in their place, and where they have to occur they are explained.²³ The presentation of the translated texts is designed to reflect their original format, and conventional signs are used to indicate the degree of completeness of the Greek text as it stands on the papyrus. Among these the most important are square brackets, [], which are used to indicate the limits of what can be directly read on the papyrus and to enclose editorial supplements. Editors use these conventions also to indicate the length of the words they judge to be missing on the papyri, but since there is obviously no inherent connection between the physical length of Greek words and that of their modern equivalents, I have adopted a simplified presentation, in which [. . .] indicates the loss of a single word on the papyrus, and [.] indicates the loss of more than one word. I have used closing as well as

21. Op. cit. (n. 1 above), p. 322.

22. Naphtali Lewis observed, as of October 1981, that 3,430 papyrus rolls and pieces had been published in the forty-eight volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* alone (there are now sixty-seven volumes and 4,629 papyri), and that there were altogether some 25,000 published papyri and probably twice that number unpublished (*Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 6). The republication of existing texts to secure marginal benefits can hardly be a high priority.

23. Emulating, if only I could do so, the acuteness of observation and lightness of touch of the two books by Naphtali Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* and *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt* (1986).

opening brackets, [], when some letters or words are extant in the later part of a damaged line, and opening brackets by themselves when the papyrus is broken and no trace at all survives beyond this point. Double square brackets, [[]], show deletions on the papyrus, for example, when a sum of money has been wrongly calculated and the correct figure has been entered. Sometimes it is possible to know from the termination of an incomplete word whether it is singular or plural, and I have indicated this in the translation. In the papyri many terms are shown with marks of abbreviation, usually in the form of a diagonal slash entered above the line.²⁴ In the published text these marks and their expansions are indicated by round brackets (); I have gone for clarity, consistency, and some simplification, expanding where necessary but leaving self-explanatory abbreviations to speak for themselves.

I have retained Roberts's column numbers, since these are important in conveying the format of the texts, and I have kept his line numbers, even when passages are translated in a different order from his. An occasional departure from Roberts's practice occurs in those cases where it is possible from a pattern of entries to determine the contents of a lost line, which cannot be seen on the papyrus though it must have existed. Since Roberts followed the editorial practice of numbering only physically extant lines, it can happen in such cases that there is a duplication of the line numbers of Roberts's published text. I note these cases by using round brackets for the numbering of lines supplied in the translated text that are not present or numbered in Roberts's publication. It may sound complicated, but I cannot imagine that any confusion in practice will arise from this procedure. It simply means that such a bracketed number will come just after the same line number in Roberts's edition.

It is obvious that these conventions can give only the most general of indications of the nature of the original texts (this is a translation, not a guide for editors of the Greek text), but they may be enough to suggest the process of judgment and interpretation that alone can bridge the gap between the physical text and its historical application. For other points of reading and interpretation the reader is directed to the explanatory notes in appendix 2 and to the lists of foodstuffs and other items in appendix 3.

24. At *P.Ryl.* 630*.531 and 536 such a mark of abbreviation seems to have led to a significant misreading of the text; see below, chapter 6 and appendix 2.

2 Hermopolis

Theophanes and Friends

“Hermes’ City”

AS I EXPLAINED IN CHAPTER 1, the Theophanes Archive, enhanced by the later publications of Rees and Moscadi, contains a number of letters addressed to Theophanes or entrusted to him by their writers for delivery to others. These letters connect Theophanes with other notables of Hermopolis and with devotees of the god known as Trismegistos, or “Thrice-Greatest,” Hermes, after whom the city was named.¹ Taken with the other evidence, they tell us much about Theophanes and the social and cultural background from which he came. In one letter, for instance, written by Anatolius to Sarapion, to be delivered by “my lord brother Theophanes, in whom I have great faith,” the writer mentions the sacred month Pharmouthi, “in which many processions take place one after the other in due order, at which I must be present for both of two reasons, the service due to the deity and the excellent opportunity it provides to offer prayers for your safety and good name.” Another letter carried by Theophanes is from the same Anatolius to Ambrosius. Ambrosius is described as “the champion of the wisdom of the Greeks,” while in the address, written on the outside of the folded papyrus, the writer styles himself “chief prophet Anatolios” and his addressee “all-wise Ambrosios.”² These are carefully chosen phrases, not just bland literary conventions, and they introduce us

1. Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, pp. 175–76. Hélène Cadell notes (p. 320, n. 29) that the dossier contains one of the two dated references in papyri to the title “Trismegistos.” “Hermopolis,” otherwise “Hermupolis,” is simply the Latin form of the Greek *Hermou-polis*, “city of Hermes.”

2. *P. Herm. Rees*, nos. 2, 3 (Moscadi 7, 8); see below.

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 2.1. Northern Egypt in the *Description de l’Égypte*. Charles Coulston Gillispie and Michel Dewichter, *Monuments of Egypt: The Napoleonic Edition; the complete archaeological plates of La Description de l’Égypte* (Princeton Architectural Press, 1987).

to the special character of the “city of Hermes” and the Thrice-Greatest god who was worshiped there.

Together with that of other Egyptian cities, notably Oxyrhynchus, the social and economic life of Hermopolis is documented by many extant papyri, which have been richly exploited by historians. Hermopolis, however, has an additional advantage over many such cities in that its physical topography is quite well known from archaeological research, in the form of surveys and excavations conducted before World War II though published some years afterward, and from some more limited explorations in the past two decades.³

The city stood a few miles back from the west bank of the Nile, at the head of a canal

3. Günther Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929–1939; Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition in Hermopolis, Ober-Ägypten* (1959); main results summarized by J. Schwartz, “Une ville égyptienne à l’époque gréco-romaine (*Hermoupolis Magna*),” *Ktema* 2 (1977), pp. 59–63; cf. the brief accounts of Naphtali Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, pp. 37f. and, with refs. to the recent explorations, R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, pp. 45–48. Note esp. A. J. Spencer, *Excavations at El-Ashmunein, I: The Topography of the Site* (1983), and D. M. Bailey and others, *Excavations at El-Ashmunein, IV: Hermopolis Magna: Buildings of the Roman Period* (1991), chap. 9.

connecting with a derivative branch of the river, the Tomis (Bahr Yusef), draining northward into the Fayum. It was about 190 miles by boat to Egyptian Babylon (Old Cairo) in the north, and somewhat further, about 250 miles, to Thebes (ancient Luxor) in the south.⁴ Despite this, it was to the province of Thebaïs, usually called the Thebaid, that Hermopolis belonged, the border with the neighboring province of Aegyptus Herculia lying just to the north of the city. It was an important place. The partial number of 4,300 houses given by a papyrus register of the mid-third century has been projected to give a total of about 7,000 houses in the residential part of the city.⁵ We obviously do not know the number of inhabitants to estimate for each house or how many houses, or quarters of the city, might have been uninhabited at any one time, but it would be surprising if the population of Hermopolis were less than 30,000 people, and one would guess it was rather more than this; it was a substantial urban community, the head of the administrative region, or *nomē*, which surrounded it.⁶

The city was surrounded by a wall, within which two main sectors have been identified. In the northern sector was the temple precinct, of which more will be said in a moment, and in the southern sector was the more heavily populated area of the city, which contained most of its civic amenities and several more temples and shrines. Running just outside the southern limit of the temple precinct, from the Gate of the Moon in the west to the Gate of the Sun in the east, was the main avenue. The chief buildings to be found along the avenue are listed in a third-century papyrus record of expenditures on their upkeep. They included temples of Tychē (the Roman Fortuna), of Athena, and of Aphrodite, these last two being associated, respectively, with the Egyptian deities Thoëris and Isis; a *kōmastērion*, or assembly point, for processions; temples of Serapis and of the Nile; an *agora*, or public square (what the Romans would call a forum), and a *macellum*, or market building; and temples of Hadrian and of the emperor's tragic favorite, Antinous. There were two *nymphaea*, or water basins, perhaps with fountains; the avenue was punctuated by *tetrastyla*, or sets of quadruple pillars, marking intersections, and it was lined with colonnades.⁷ The avenue led from the city through the Gate of the Sun to the river port of Hermopolis, a few miles away on the river Nile itself. On the far side of the great river stood Antinoopolis, named after Hadrian's favorite just mentioned, who had

4. The modern name of the town on the site, El Ashmunein, preserves, via Coptic, the ancient Egyptian name of the city, Khmunu.

5. H. Schmitz, in Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929–1939*, p. 107.

6. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 53, suggests a population of between twenty-five thousand and fifty thousand, but nearer the higher figure. The name of Theophanes is not found among the Hermopolite landowners resident in the West Citadel quarter of the city (*Phrouriou libos*) recorded in fourth-century land registers; P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp, *Zwei Landlisten aus dem Hermopolites (P.Landlisten)* (1978); A. K. Bowman, "Landholding in the Hermopolite Nome in the Fourth Century," *JRS* 75 (1985), pp. 137–63. Other names in the archive (such as Hermodorus, Eulogius) do occur, but they are such common names in the region as to be of no use in this context.

7. Schmitz, in Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929–1939*, pp. 101–05 (IV, §§7–14); Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 45; Bailey, *Hermopolis Magna*, pp. 57–58.

drowned in the river during the emperor's visit there in AD 130, provoking the emperor's heart-broken grief and commemorative cults and statues everywhere. By the mid-fourth century, and probably already in the time of Theophanes, Antinoopolis was the capital of the Thebaid. In the *Description de l'Égypte* published after the visit of another aspiring ruler of the country, Napoleon, were printed the first plan of Hermopolis, and an impression of the now lost ruins of the city and those of Antinoopolis (figs. 2.2–2.4).⁸

The northern sector of Hermopolis consisted of a sacred precinct 600 meters square dating to the 30th (the last pre-Ptolemaic) Dynasty and surrounded by a massive wall. The most imposing building inside the precinct, indeed among the most imposing to be seen anywhere in the region, was the great temple of Thoth-Hermes. With a façade 50 meters across and a depth of 100–150 meters, it matched in size the still-extant temples of Edfu and Kom Ombo.⁹ In front of the temple was a paved court known as the *dromos*, which led out of the precinct to the main avenue just described, forming at the intersection a hub of the public life of the city.

The Egyptian god Thoth is the ibis god familiar from his many images in sculpture and painting.¹⁰ His role as the inventor or patron of writing, science, and wisdom is thought by some to have been inspired by the sight of the ibis bird dragging its long, curved bill from side to side through the water for food, looking as if it were writing on the surface. The idea, though unprovable, is too good not to be true, but in any case gives only a partial impression of the various roles of the god.¹¹ Thoth was the god of time and the cosmic order, of the rising of the stars and the formation of the earth, of religious and civil institutions, of rituals and cult, of the occult, of magic and healing—of anything, really, in which the essence of the matter could be expressed in written rules and procedures. Some Classical writers, like Cicero, knew of Thoth in his guise of Hermes, not only the god of Hermopolis, but its founder. Others thought he was just buried there, in this case regarding him, as did Plato and the fourth-century historian Ammianus Marcellinus, as a human being of divine gifts rather than a true god. Since there was not much doubt that the Classical Hermes was a true god, there was some debate, which need not concern us here, as to how many such “Hermes” figures there were, what their status was, and how they were connected.¹²

The priests of Thoth were guardians of the god and his wisdom and of the oracles given, in

8. The beautiful illustrations of the *Description* are reproduced by Princeton Architectural Press, in C. C. Gillispie and M. Dewachter, *Monuments of Egypt: The Napoleonic Edition* (Princeton, 1987), and in reduced format by Taschen books (Köln, London, etc., 2002). Hermopolis is in vol. IV, plates 50–53, and Antinoopolis follows at plates 54–61.

9. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929–1939*, pp. 54–56 (II, §61); Dieter Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs* (1999), pp. 111–13.

10. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929–1939*, pp. 163–66 (V, §§5–6).

11. The adjacent necropolis at Touna-el-Gebel contained large numbers of the birds, mummified and interred in little coffins made to their shape.

12. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929–1939*, p. 166 (V, §6g). My characterization derives from Garth Fowden's *The Egyptian Hermes*, pp. 22–31. For Cicero, see Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* 1.6.

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 2.2. Survey of Hermopolis in the *Description de l’Egypte*. Charles Coulston Gillispie and Michel Dewichter, *Monuments of Egypt: The Napoleonic Edition; the complete archaeological plates of La Description de l’Egypte* (Princeton Architectural Press, 1987).

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Fig. 2.3. North portico at Hermopolis in the *Description de l’Égypte*. Charles Coulston Gillispie and Michel Dewichter, *Monuments of Egypt: The Napoleonic Edition; the complete archaeological plates of La Description de l’Égypte* (Princeton Architectural Press, 1987).

a variety of ways, to those asking for information and advice.¹³ The oracles responded, not only to the usual inquiries affecting the physical and material well-being of supplicants, but to questions about the conduct of life itself—how to live better, how to acquire wisdom, how to become acquainted with the god and know his nature; and so it was that “Twice-Greatest” Thoth of the Egyptians was converted into “Thrice-Greatest Hermes” of the Greeks, the giver of oracles and author or inspiration of a corpus of esoteric writings incorporating mystic wisdom, the key to knowledge of the universe and the god. They encompassed books on astronomy and astrology, geography, the building and upkeep of temples, education and religious ritual, law, the gods, the training of priests, physiology, and medicine.¹⁴ It is a body of wisdom that has in the centuries

13. David Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (1998), pp. 239f., 252f., etc. I owe to this fine book, not only many of the individual points mentioned here, but a perspective on the survival of ancient Egyptian religion in this period.

14. Clement of Alexandria counted forty-two such books; *Stromateis* 6.4.35–37, cited by Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, pp. 56f., and by Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, pp. 239f. For “Twice-Greatest” Thoth, see Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929–1939*, p. 166.

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 2.4. Theater portico at Antinoopolis in the *Description de l’Egypte*. Charles Coulston Gillispie and Michel Dewichter, *Monuments of Egypt: The Napoleonic Edition; the complete archaeological plates of La Description de l’Egypte* (Princeton Architectural Press, 1987).

since its discovery inspired the designation *Hermetic*—and such a prosaic modern metaphor as *hermetically sealed*, deriving from the protection of an esoteric doctrine from profane influences.

By Theophanes’ time, the monumental temples of Egypt were no longer in good repair, and their priesthoods were attenuated in numbers and majesty—not the armies of sacred persons encountered by Herodotus but smaller bands of priests and temple guards appointed to look after the rituals and take care of the maintenance of the buildings. They had had to accommodate themselves to the multiplicity of Classical, and Classicizing, deities brought in by the Hellenistic Greeks and by the Romans, not least the imperial cult whose monuments could be found all over the city—there was a temple of Domitian inside the precinct of Thoth, and we have seen the shrines of Hadrian and Antinous along the main avenue.¹⁵ The ancient temples had further suffered, along with so many other aspects of civic life, from the insecurity and financial constraints of the third century. The remarkable book by David Frankfurter shows this, but also how the authority of the temples had by a sort of centrifugal process devolved over the years into still vigorous local forms of expression in towns, villages,

15. Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, p. 262, referring to S. R. Snape, *A Temple of Domitian at El-Ashmunein* (London, 1989).

and households. This “spilling out” of traditional piety into more local contexts does not mean that the temples, or the ceremonies focused on them, were defunct or had ceased to matter in the eyes of local people.

Among the other temples of Hermopolis was one of Athena, to be associated, if the evidence from Oxyrhynchus is a guide, with the Egyptian goddess Taweret, or Thoëris.¹⁶ At Oxyrhynchus, there is evidence from the fourth century for a priesthood of Thoëris and for the appointment of temple guards as a civic duty, and a ritual dinner, or “symposium,” was held there as late as 462. As the regional center of its cult, the temple of Thoëris at Oxyrhynchus played the same role as the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis; just as at Hermopolis, it possessed a processional avenue which, in the case of Oxyrhynchus, gave its name to an entire quarter of the city.¹⁷ So, when Anatolius, in the letter quoted above and translated in full below, wrote of the “many processions [that] take place one after the other in due order, at which I must be present [because of] the service due to the deity,” he meant something very real to himself and to anyone who knew his city. We should imagine the processions, at Hermopolis as at Oxyrhynchus, still, in Theophanes’ day, assembling in ceremonial order in the *dromos* and *kōmastērion*,¹⁸ then passing in their solemn progress along the avenue through the Gate of the Sun and on to the ever-holy Nile.

One such procession, in the territory of Hermopolis (not the city itself), is described by a fourth-century church father: “There was a huge temple in one of the villages which housed a very famous idol, though in reality this image was nothing but a wooden statue. The priests together with the people, working themselves up into a bacchic frenzy, used to carry it in procession through the villages, no doubt performing the ceremony to ensure the flooding of the Nile.”¹⁹ The description sets the scene for the suppression of the ceremony by the Christian missionary who is the subject of the story, but we should not let our church father mislead us into thinking that Theophanes and his Hermopolitan friends in the early fourth century were already engaged in a supposed “pagan-Christian conflict” affecting the Roman world at large. Such a moment had not yet come. These were proud and important men, who should be taken on their own terms, not on those laid down for them by their future opponents. They were leaders of their communities who were observing rites and customs of an ancestral god, adapted over many years to the conditions of their times and still to be taken very seriously. They were the guardians of an ancient cult to which they were devoted, as citizens and priests, in a way found all over the Roman empire—but with the privilege of living and practicing their beliefs in Egypt, whose culture and religion had a very special hold

16. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, pp. 121–24. A comparable identification was that of Isis with Aphrodite (see above).

17. *Ibid.*, p. 122 with nn. 87–88.

18. The word used by Anatolius, *kōmasiai*, is the same as that used at Hermopolis for the place of assembly of processions.

19. *Historia Monachorum* 8.25 (trans. Russell), cited by Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, p. 44.

on the imaginations of cultivated men and women. Caring for Hermes Trismegistos in the god's very own city, they were responsible for the care of religious institutions as important as any in the Mediterranean world.

We should not identify Theophanes more closely than the evidence permits with this circle of god-fearers of Hermes Trismegistos. It has been rightly observed that the references to the god and his wisdom are not from Theophanes' own pen but occur in letters written to him or about him.²⁰ On the other hand, we should not refuse to see the obvious. Every time that "the best of men, my lord brother Theophanes," as he is described in the letter entrusted to him by Anatolius, glanced at the address written on the outside of the letter, he would see the words in which it was couched; from the "chief prophet" Anatolius to "all-wise" Ambrosius. Even if these words say nothing directly about the nature of Theophanes' religious beliefs or about any public role into which his beliefs might have led him, we must assume he would appreciate them, just as he knew the people who wrote and received them. If, as often happens, I find myself the bearer of good wishes from one academic colleague to another, I am justifiably proud to be part of that process.

Friends and Family

The personal letters involving Theophanes fall into two groups, those addressed to him and those carried by him on behalf of others, in which his name is mentioned. The latter group consists of three letters from Anatolius to various friends, all written in the same hand and all to be carried by Theophanes, who is setting off on a journey. The obvious inference is that they were written at the same time and were given to Theophanes to be delivered to their recipients when he reached his destination, or else in some place he passed on the way there. We need not assume that the journey in question is the journey to Antioch described in the main archive—in fact it cannot be, since one of the letters mentions Alexandria as Theophanes' destination and Alexandria was not on Theophanes' route to or from Antioch. We must be dealing with some other journey and some other business. Theophanes was what would now be called a frequent traveler who must often have had occasion to visit Alexandria.

The presence of the three letters among Theophanes' papers raises an awkward question, since that is not where they should be found if they had been delivered.²¹ There is no obvious reason why Anatolius should have given copies of the letters to Theophanes, or why Theophanes should have made them for himself, and it may be that, for one reason or another, the letters were never given to their recipients. In the absence of a public postal service, it was through the good offices of friends that letters found their way around the Roman empire, and it must often have happened that, even having the best of intentions, travelers were simply unable to carry out their friends' wishes.

20. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, pp. 271–72. See below, in my discussion of the individual texts.

21. Moscadi, "Le lettere dell'archivio di Teofane," p. 119, referring also to Rees.

In the first of the three letters, Anatolius excuses himself to Sarapion for not having visited him before and for not doing so now.²² His reasons are his daughters' illnesses and his obligation to observe the worship of Hermes and on the present occasion the festivals of the month Pharmouthi; but for these, he writes, he would be traveling now with Theophanes to see Sarapion. Moscadi's insistence that Anatolius was elsewhere than at Hermopolis when he wrote the letter to Sarapion derives, in part, from a reading of the papyrus which is not accepted here and is inherently perverse.²³ There is no reason to doubt that the journey Theophanes is about to make is from Hermopolis—this, after all, is where the cult of Hermes, on which Anatolius lays such emphasis in his letter, was celebrated.

To my master Sarapion, Anatolios, greetings.

You know, my lord, that I pray both to see and speak with you face to face, for you are my champion and, among champions, most admirable. Indeed, often as I was full of eagerness and on the point of effecting it, when reasons quite inescapable prevented me from reaching you—on the one side my daughters' illnesses (which the capricious malice of some god visited upon me, yet may he remove it), on the other the compelling duty of worship of the god Hermes, our guardian. In fact, I would at this very moment have been on the road with distinguished traveling company, matching the exacting demands of your character—for my lord brother, my [master?] Theophanes, in whom I have great faith, is about to leave home [*about 15 words missing, in which Anatolius must have renewed his excuses for not visiting Sarapion in person*]. . . the observance of the sacred month Pharmouthi having begun, in which many processions take place one after the other in due order, at which I must be present for both of two reasons, the worship due to the deity and the excellent opportunity it provides to offer prayers for your safety and good name. But I shall come, if the gods offer their help and make it possible, after the time of the observance of Pharmouthi.

May you enjoy everlasting happiness, my lord, and may the gods attend you and be kindly.²⁴

Address on verso: To my master Sarapion, Anatolios.

22. *P. Herm. Rees* 2 and plate I (Moscadi 7).

23. Moscadi, "Le lettere dell'archivio di Teofane," p. 119, adopting in line 12 the Greek negative, *ouk*, to give the meaning that Anatolius would otherwise *not* be on the road with Theophanes rather than, in the reading accepted here, that he otherwise *would* be (i.e., he is actually at home). There are technical stylistic reasons against Moscadi's reading.

24. The concluding formula of greeting is written in five short lines at the end of the letter, in a smaller version of the same hand as the main text. The same format is used in the letters of Anatolius to Ambrosius and Neilos, Hermodorus and Ioannes and Leon to Theophanes, and probably Theophanes to Anysius (all translated below).

The letter from Anatolius, now styled *archiprophētēs*, or “chief prophet,” to “all-wise” Ambrosius, is remarkable for the religious implications of the language and for the direct mention of Hermes Trismegistos.²⁵ It is an obvious inference that Anatolius was connected, as exponent or interpreter, with the oracles of the god. Otherwise, the writer plays with the familiar conceit of absence among friends and opportunities to communicate by letter through common acquaintances. In itself, the letter is no more than a brief note conveying formal greetings, written in short lines of three or four words on a small piece of papyrus (19.1 by 12.3 cm). In the last few lines before the closing greeting, the loss of a few letters at the beginning of each line means that the sense can only be sketched in, but its general bearing is clear. A nice touch in the middle of the note is the use of the perfect participle in the sense of “has come,” to anticipate Theophanes’ arrival with the letter and to suggest that Ambrosius is reading it—as if Anatolius were indeed speaking to his friend.

To my lord, all-wise Ambrosios, Anatolios, greeting.

It is a compelling duty to speak with you, the champion of the wisdom of the Hellenes and one who is pleasing and well-disposed to us; but it is the work of the gods to provide the opportunities. But at least, the good fortune has befallen me to meet with the best of men, my lord brother Theophanes, who has come to you and conveys this address from me. For in both regards [. . .] both the one who brings and the one who receives; for [. . .] I welcome the [*c. 2 words*] of you(?) both. Greet my friend and brother [. . .]thon.

May Thrice-Greatest Hermes himself and all the gods give you happiness for ever.

Address on verso To all-wise Ambrosios, Anatolios, chief prophet.

Anatolius’s third letter, to Neilos, is the only one to name Theophanes’ destination as Alexandria; as just explained, this would exclude the journey in question being the famous one to Antioch. As in the other two cases, the language has a religious component that is not merely formulaic.²⁶ Here it is the closing acclamation to Neilos as “glory of the priests.” In referring to Neilos as his “brother,” Anatolius is using a late Roman convention to refer to a relationship of friendship and collegiality. Neither Neilos nor the “sisters” to whom he sends greeting at the end of the letter should be seen as Anatolius’s blood relations. Perhaps, however, the two women were Neilos’s relatives, possibly his sisters or cousins, part of the family to whom Anatolius wishes good health in his final greeting. One of the women is called Neilogeneia, “Nile-born,” a variant on the name of Neilos himself. The name of the other, Kōmasia, plays on the word for a religious procession, seen at Hermopolis in the first

25. *P. Herm.* Rees 3 and plate II (Moscadi 8); above, n. 1.

26. *P. Ryl.* Rees (Moscadi 12).

of this group of letters from Anatolius and present also in the word *kōmastērion*, the place of assembly of such processions.

To my lord and brother Neilos, Anatolios, greeting.

Now, through whom was it more natural to write to you, as I do through my lord patron Theophanes, who is departing for Alexandria? For you must believe me, if you please, that my father's intention is unchanged, and that he wishes to come to you. What prevents him is the fate of all mortals, which has overtaken his elder sister. After her obsequies are complete, he will come.

Greet my lady sisters Neilogeneia and Komasia. Greet too all who are dear to me.

I pray to all the gods for your and all your family's good health, glory of the priests!

In addition to the letters that involve him only as a third party are those addressed directly to Theophanes. The first, from Hermodorus, mentions several members of Theophanes' family. We meet two sons, Anysius and Aphthonius, who are said to be "in good health and perform[ing] their obligations, attending to their business at the same time as to their civic duties," some unnamed sisters of theirs, and their mother, Theophanes' wife, all of whom have remained in Hermopolis while the husband and father is absent on a journey.²⁷ Hermodorus also sends greetings from "your sister and our children and all in our house," from which it seems natural to infer that Hermodorus was Theophanes' brother-in-law and that the "children . . . in our house" were Theophanes' nieces or nephews.²⁸ This also explains how in the middle of the letter Hermodorus can write "our" sons when he means those of Theophanes. It is a gentle way of adding his own affection to the good report he sends of the two young men, his own nephews. It is difficult to judge whether the "omnipotent deity" referred to in the letter is Hermes Trismegistos or a generalized supreme deity such as we often find in texts of the period—indeed, it may be that the two concepts of divinity were not clearly distinguished in Hermodorus's own mind, one point of view being in effect a restatement of the other.

[To my lord brother, Theophanes] Hermodoros, greeting.

I take delight in writing to you and I pray that my letter is given to you in good health and spirits. It is right and proper that you also, when writing to others, remember us too, so that our pleasure may be greater, learning from your letters of your safety and good health, for which we pray. And may it come about that we

27. *P. Herm.* Rees 5 and plate IV (Moscadi 10); fig. 2.5.

28. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 272 n. 80.

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 2.5. Hermodorus to Theophanes (*P.Herm. Rees* 5). Reproduced by permission of The Egypt Exploration Society, London.

soon enjoy the greatest gladness on your account, for which we pray and hope to enjoy through the kindness of the omnipotent deity, receiving you back strong in soul and body, and crowned with success. Be in good heart also on account of our sons Anysios and Aphthonios, for they are in good health and are fulfilling their obligations, attending to their business at the same time as to their civic duties. In good health too are their sisters and their mother, and all those in your house. Your sister sends many greetings, and our children, and all those in our house.

I pray for your good health for many years, my lord brother, and may we receive you back speedily, in good heart in all respects. Pachon 26.

Address on verso: To my brother Theophanes, Hermodoros.

While this letter tells us something of Theophanes' private life and family concerns, the next, from Besodorus to Theophanes, introduces us to the two friends' business affairs.²⁹ Immediately obvious in this letter is its literary affectation, as the author plays with conceits on friendship and the pains of absence, before reverting to his and Theophanes' shared concerns. It is, however, important not to miss the point of the rhetoric. The quasi-erotic intensity of Besodorus's language in the first half of the letter is meant to amplify the urgency of his inquiries in its later part; this is evidently a matter in which he and Theophanes were deeply involved. Besodorus underlines his personal investment by claiming to have expressed himself forcibly on the matter and to have set out with Theophanes on his journey to put it to rights. That he closes the letter by greeting Theophanes' companions "by name" implies that he knew them personally, presumably from the journey he says he had begun with them.

Besodorus's name has a special point of interest. Like the many names derived from Hermes encountered among the people of Hermopolis (Hermodoros, whom we have just met, is one), it is a "theophoric" name deriving, in this case, from the Egyptian dwarf-god Bēs. The famous shrine of Bēs at Abydos, also in the Thebaid, was in the late 350s the object of judicial inquiries, described by Ammianus Marcellinus, about magic arts and conspiracy involving leading adherents of the cult. Like the cult of Thoth/Hermes, that of Bēs at Abydos was known for the oracles it granted to inquirers (hence the emperor's interest in the shrine), but the god had acquired a wide range of apotropaic and protective functions in Graeco-Egyptian society in general.³⁰ One of his roles was to promote fertility in marriage and to protect in childbirth—benign duties reflected in the case of a child called by his parents Bēsodōros, "gift of Bēs."

29. *P. Herm.* Rees 6 and plate V (Moscadi 11); fig. 2.6.

30. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, pp. 124–31 and 169–74, with Amm. Marc. 19.12.1–16 and my comments in *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, pp. 217–18. The guardians of the oracles had been injudicious enough to keep written copies, which the authorities now sought as evidence of improper enquiries.

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 2.6. Besodorus to Theophanes (*P.Herm. Rees* 6). Reproduced by permission of The Egypt Exploration Society, London.

To my lord and brother Theophanes, Besodoros, very many greetings.

In truth, there was in me a longing for you, one that rested heavy on my mind, my lord brother, which, on each bright presence of yours in the city, caused me by the mere glimpse of you to be filled with pleasure and to find all I wished for. But now, this short period of your absence has made the sight of you more desirable to us who pray to see it; since even the few moments of time spent in sleep seem immeasurably long to those who pine away with love. And so I, suffering like a lover, pray to be released from such longing, just as soon as it is my good fortune to see you.

My feelings in this matter, as I inquire on every possible occasion of the strangers that come from anywhere on earth to stay here with us, would be laborious and long to explain; for there is nothing more precious or more powerful than a brother's . . . [7–8 words missing]. And now it is a matter of concern to me, and devoutly to be wished, to learn exactly what is the outcome of the affairs you have set in order, so that I too may heartily rejoice over matters in which I raised my voice loudly and publicly; for I have an explicit trust and confidence that nothing untoward or improper will happen, if the god supports you in every enterprise, in matters where justly . . . [3–4 words missing] to do good on my own account. For the virtuous among men, all kinds of honours are held in store by god.

And so, my lord brother, may it be that you will return in good health to your native city, having put these matters to rights. It will be with joyful pleasure on our part that you will return to your city . . . [10–15 words missing]. Then I would offer full gratitude to the highest god, if I could see with my own eyes how things are with you, having from the beginning set out with you on the same journey. But now I wish and pray, by any means whatever to hear more clearly news of this and to learn how matters stand with you.

I send you many greetings, true brother of my soul, and all who are with you by name.

2nd, i.e., Besodorus's own hand May I receive you back in good health, my master and brother, having splendidly accomplished the things we wish for.

Address on verso (in 2nd or 3rd hand) Deliver to my lord brother Theophanes, from Besodoros.

Already known from C. H. Roberts's publication of the archive was a letter addressed to Theophanes by his sons Hephaestion and Origenes, in which they thank their father for allowing them to travel to a city, probably Alexandria, to see for themselves the nature of his business there.³¹ In a series of moral sentiments attributing to their father, and to their own

31. Roberts, pp. 113–15 = *PRyl.* 624 (with trans. at 115); Moscadi 4.

concern for him, their own high repute “in the city,” the sons promise him their undying loyalty and offer to go with him wherever duty should lead, setting aside love of their elders and the pleasures of home.

The letter is written in the same excellent, formal hand as the letter to Theophanes from Besodorus just translated. The two texts were apparently dictated to the same secretary (in his letter to Theophanes, Besodorus added a couple of lines of greeting in his own hand, as do the sons in the present case). This suggests that, like the letters in the earlier group presented here, these two letters also were written at the same time as each other and respond to the same circumstances. Roberts thought of the sons’ letter as a display piece, designed to show off to Theophanes the success of the education he had provided for them, but this is to underestimate the allusiveness of late Roman literary style, in which the most abstract commonplaces may have a direct bearing on the most practical matters.³² In the previous letter, Besodorus wanted urgently to know of the success of Theophanes’ mission, and now Hephæstion and Origenes contain their disappointment that their father’s affairs had not come out as hoped and suggest the presence, apparently in Alexandria, of those who “thought otherwise” than their father—not to mention the exaggerated statement of their willingness to follow their father wherever he should desire.³³ This corresponds to the emotional tone of the first half of Besodorus’s letter, which, as we have just seen, was designed to heighten the urgency of the second half. As in the letter to Theophanes from Besodorus, his sons veil their subject matter behind a display of traditional rhetorical postures. Yet if the sons, like Besodorus and like their uncle Hermodorus, knew their father as a frequent traveler, then their comments about their own willingness to travel in his service were apt.

This letter is in rather worse condition than the others translated here. The indication [. . .] is used to show small gaps of one or two words; otherwise a rough estimate is given of the number of missing words. Some isolated words that survive on the papyrus cannot be translated as part of any context but seem to refer to Theophanes’ business activities. In particular, line 13 of the text, untranslatable in sum, contains two words that may indicate the nature of Theophanes’ activities without, unfortunately, telling us any more about them. One is the Greek word *tam*[. . .], which can hardly be expanded in any other way than to yield a word for a treasury or a financial official. The other is *dioikētēs*, which again is a financial manager or administrator.

32. Roberts, p. 105: “A literary essay in the form of a letter sent to Theophanes by his sons.” The idea, based on the common hand of the letters, that Besodorus was the tutor of Theophanes’ sons and that his sons were merely showing off the literary skills they had learned from him is unnecessary; Moscadi, “Le lettere dell’archivio di Teofane,” p. 138 n. 1, referring to Rees and Roberts—though of course Roberts, writing before the publication of Besodorus’s letter, had not made the connection.

33. There is no real basis for Roberts’s suggestion (p. 115 n. 18) that the difference of opinion referred to in the letter has something to do with paganism and Christianity.

To our lord and master, our father Theophanes, Hephaistion and Origenes, many greetings.

We do not think the pains of our journey [. . .], our lord father, worthy of any particular recompense [. . .], since we chose on our own account to endure them. On the contrary, we have a sense of gratitude, which we also expressed earlier, for being esteemed worthy of such honor, from which we were able to know exactly [. . .] affairs [. . .] through being present and seeing for ourselves, without being seriously disappointed in our wishes [. . .]. We stayed on in the city after you had left us there, making fond inquiries in matters concerning your success and well-being(?), from which us too . . . [*about 20 words missing, but with the financial terms mentioned above*] . . . the matter concerning you. For this especially we consider to be a prime duty and one surpassing all others; the law of nature teaches us to care and take thought for no other person more than for a good father: from which (*or*, from whom) derives also an unchallenged repute in the city, and the ability to disdain those who are otherwise minded. This is the easiest thing for us, since you well know how with all our might we are so disposed, and with (all) our soul.... [*about 35 words missing*] . . . being willing to travel with you [. . .] no foreign customs(?) would stand as an obstacle; no love of elders, nor pleasure of home; nor any other such consideration [. . .]. For we would declare especially [*c. 5 words*] of the healthy and living (*pl.*)... [*c. 12 words*]... we all greet you, lord father [*c. 5 words*] may you live the rest of your days [*c. 5 words*] accomplishing (*sing.*) your will [*c. 7–8 words*] most honoured [. . .

Fragmentary greeting, in 2nd hand: [. . .

Address on verso: [To our] lord (?) [. . .

To conclude this group of letters addressed to Theophanes, the following brief note from Ioannes and Leon stands rather apart from the other letters translated here.³⁴ In one sense it is nothing special, for it contains little but formal greetings, expressed in conventional phrases, some of which occur elsewhere in the texts translated here. Its interest, however, lies in these phrases and in the names of the writers, which stand apart from the other names found in these letters. The identification of the bearers of the names as Christians is taken to be supported by the word for “beloved,” *agapitos*, at the beginning and end of the letter; the “brothers” who join Ioannes and Leon in their greeting are then taken to be a group of religious males, perhaps living in an early monastic community.³⁵

34. *P. Herm.* Rees 4 and plate IIIb (Moscadi 9).

35. See Moscadi’s comments, “Le lettere dell’archivio di Teofane,” p. 130. Rees sees it differently (*Papyri from Hermopolis*, p. 7): “But for the absence of Christian salutations, &c., the letter might well deceive the reader as to the religious affiliations of its writers.” See n. 37 below.

There is nothing impossible in the idea that a group of Christian devotees should be in communication with Theophanes—they could well have had financial or other interests involving him—but the arguments are not as strong as they may seem. Moscadi, who joins others in pressing the Christian nuances of *agapitos*, connects it with the Latin term of courtesy *amantissimus*, which, however, has no specifically Christian connotations.³⁶ Nor, for all the use they made of it, did the Christians have a monopoly of the term *agapitos*.³⁷ The names of Ioannes and Leon may have been Jewish as much as Christian, and indeed Hermopolis is known in the second century to have possessed a Jewish quarter.³⁸ Then again, the “brothers” may have belonged to some other sort of fraternity than the Christian—a trade guild, for example, or the Jewish community of Hermopolis, of which Ioannes and Leon may have been leaders or spokesmen.³⁹

Nothing else is known of Dionysius of Attinu (a village in the Fayum), who met Theophanes at Athribis. Athribis was on Theophanes’ route to Antioch, but there is no way of knowing whether this or some other visit was the occasion of the meeting.

To Theophanes, our beloved brother, Ioannes and Leon, greeting.

We thought ourselves in duty bound to address you in writing, praying that the letter is given to you in good health, and in all respects in good spirits. We pray also soon to receive you back in good health. All the brothers who are here greet you, and Dionysius from Attinu, who met you at Athribis.

We pray for your health for many years.

Address on verso: To Theophanes our beloved brother, Ioannes and Leon.

It is disappointing that the two letters in the archive that were written by Theophanes himself to others are in an extremely fragmentary state. One of the letters consists only of the scanty remains of five lines, of which the first two say merely, “Theophanes to his son [*name not extant*],” adding in the third line a name to be restored as “[Sar]apammon,” and in the fourth the possible statement that Theophanes had kept Sarapammon with him for a while, presumably before releasing him to make his journey to the recipient of the letter. Sarapam-

36. Often in combinations like “carissime et amantissime”; cf. Moscadi, “Le lettere dell’archivio di Teofane,” p. 104.

37. Or *agapētos*. The word *agapē* occurs as part of the title of the goddess Isis; LSJ⁹, s.v., §IV (*P.Oxy.* 11.1380.109), and there are plenty of non-Christian uses of its cognates.

38. The name Ioannes is self-explanatory; Leon would be the Hebrew Arieḥ, “lion.” For the Jewish quarter, *P.Amherst* II, no. 98; Bailey, *Hermopolis Magna*, p. 57 col. 1.

39. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 272 n. 78, states that both this letter and that of Hermodorus to Theophanes, translated above, were “certainly Christian” and that Besodorus “offers enough New Testament parallels to warrant a characterization as a Christian too.” I find this very contentious and side firmly with Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, p. 176.

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 2.7. Ioannes and Leon to Theophanes (*P.Herm. Rees 4*). Reproduced by permission of The Egypt Exploration Society, London.

mon is a good Graeco-Egyptian name, but there is no indication what the letter was about and no surviving trace of the name of the son to whom it was addressed.⁴⁰

Compared with this fleeting glimpse, the second letter is a mine of information—if, again, it did not stop short just as we were about to understand it.⁴¹ The letter is addressed to Anysius, who is asked to meet the need of the *commentariensis ab actis* Dionysius for some articles, the nature of which is not extant on the papyrus (the *commentariensis* was an official whose duty it was to enter into the public record judicial and other civil decisions of the governor of the province).⁴² The first column of the letter then lapses into fragments of words and phrases,

40. *P.Ryl.* 626 (Roberts, p. 116); Moscadi 6. Roberts read the recipient's name as "He[phaistion]," but this is based on a misreading of the first two Greek letters of the word for "son."

41. *P.Ryl.* 625 (Moscadi 5 and tav. 2).

42. J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse* (284–382) (1964), pp. 73–74. On the papyrus, the title of the office is transliterated into Greek as *aktōn commentarēsios*.

of which little coherent sense can be made, except that the need of the *commentariensis* is an urgent one and that Anysius is to attend to it. A second column is, however, recoverable, in which Theophanes remarks that he had earlier written on the same matter to Silvanus the *phrontistēs*, apparently a supervisor or manager in Theophanes' household. He may well be the Silvanus who will show up in the travel memoranda relating to Theophanes' residence at Antioch. As for the recipient of the letter, given the identity of his name it is not surprising that Moscadi took him to be the son of Theophanes mentioned above. The terms in which Theophanes addresses Anysius do not, however, seem consonant with this, and it is more likely that Anysius was someone else, in some way a colleague or associate. A plausible identification is with Anysius, mentioned as a former governor (of the Thebaid) in a papyrus from Antinoopolis.⁴³

It is a mystery what it was that Dionysius needed so urgently. The measure known as the *psiathion*—a sack or basket—is used elsewhere in the Theophanes archive to measure quantities of alum used for treating raw linen and is a subdivision of the measure known as a *kōt(ula?)*. It may be inferred, both from that and the present passage, that these were large measures, for what Theophanes presented at one moment as his need for “a few” *psiathia* of whatever substance or article is in question is apparently satisfied by providing him with a hundred, presumably of the same article counted individually or in smaller units.⁴⁴

Except for his reading of “his son” for “his lord” Anysios in the first line of the text (only the last letter of the word is visible and it would be the same in either case) Moscadi's republication of the fragment is a drastic improvement over the first edition of Roberts, for Moscadi showed, and it is clear from his photograph, that what Roberts attempted to read continuously across the entire papyrus in fact falls into two columns, the second containing the reference to the request to Silvanus and Theophanes' concluding greeting.

col. i

Theophanes to [his lord] Anysios, greeting.

My patron Dionysios, *commentariensis ab actis*, has need of a few sac[ks of
?of which] there are said to be [5–6 words missing] provide him with a hundred
[about 10 words missing] but please do not neglect (the matter), since his need is
a pressing one [5 or more lines missing].

43. *PLRE* I, p. 79 (Anysius 1).

44. The papyrus has *psiai[thia]*, apparently for the regular *psia[thia]*. See LSJ⁹ s.v. *psiathos*, §III (p. 2023), and also under the diminutive form *psiathion*; cf. *P.Ryl.* 627.127–28 and 340 (below, chapter 3). The *kōt(ula?)* is obviously different from the *kotula*, a relatively small liquid measure (Roberts, p. 123, n. 127). A “sack” may of course be of a controlled size for a specific product, as with the one hundredweight (1 cwt.) sacks formerly used in Britain for the delivery of coal.

col. ii

I also wrote before on this matter to Silvanus the *phrontistēs*.

2nd, i.e., *Theophanes' own hand*: I pray, my lord, for your good health for many years.

Address on verso: Theophanes to Anysios.

The Letters of Vitalis

After these glimpses of Theophanes' friends, family, and cultural milieu, the final text in this chapter introduces us to a different world, of which we have seen only occasional traces so far: that of the Latin-based imperial administration of the Roman east. It also presents to us for the first time the journey to Antioch that will from now be our main concern. One of the items in the archive is the incomplete text of a letter of reference, in Latin, of which a well-preserved duplicate, written in the same hand to another addressee, exists apart from the archive, having been detached from it in the process of acquisition. In fact, since it is only this version of the letter that preserves the name of Theophanes, it is nothing less than the original key to the entire archive:⁴⁵

To his lord Achillius, Vitalis. Since in all matters your kindness is endowed with good intent, I have no doubt of its willingness to respect and honor learned advocates (*scholastici*), and especially those who are entrusted to your honored self by me, your servant, my commendable lord. On this account I entrust to your inimitable conscience Theophanes, from the city of Hermupolis in the province of the Thebaid, who at the instance of my lord, our brother Philippus, is undertaking—in some way, it appears, without an official allowance—the burdensome labor of a journey to the *officium* of my lord Dyscolius, and ask that you deign to show him your Honor's habitual kindness and humanity as he passes on his way. By the good health of us all and of our little children, I avow that it was without a request of any sort from him that I thought it right to introduce him to your benevolence.

2nd, i.e., *Vitalis's own hand*: Gentlest and most affectionate lord, may I ever rejoice in your happiness and affection for me.

Address on verso: To his lord Achillius, governor of Phoenikē, (*in 2nd hand*) Vitalis.⁴⁶

45. *P. Lat. Strasb.* 1, with *PRyl.* 623; Roberts, p. 104; *CPL*, nos. 262–63; Moscadi, 1 and 3, with tav. 1: Cotton, *Documentary Letters of Recommendation*, pp. 40–47. A second connection was made in 1964 by Rees's identification of the same hand in the letter from Besodorus to Theophanes, as in *PRyl.* 624, the letter to Theophanes from his sons (both translated above).

46. The two words, *hēgem(oni) Phoinēikēs*, are written in Greek, no doubt for the benefit of the carrier of the letter, who would see them on the outside of the folded text. In the Latin text of the letter, the writer gives the name of Hermupolis in its Greek form.

With the exception of a trivial difference of word order in one phrase, we have here two identical letters of introduction written on behalf of Theophanes by Vitalis.⁴⁷ One of the letters is addressed to Achillius (or Achilleus), the governor of the province of Phoenice, the other to Delphinus, who is usually taken to be the governor of Palestine.⁴⁸ These were the provinces through which Theophanes would pass on his journey to Antioch. The writer of the letters can be identified. He is the same as a *katholikos*, or chief financial officer, called (in Greek) “Ouitalios,” who in a papyrus unconnected with Theophanes is found ordering the repair of aging galleys laid up in Memphis and Babylon, in what may (although it need not) be part of the preparations for the civil war of Licinius against Constantine in 324.⁴⁹

In addition to the identity of Vitalis, there are two other indications of the date of Theophanes’ journey. One of the items in the travel memoranda (*P.Ryl.* 635) was written on the back of a petition to the emperors bearing the names of the Augusti and Caesars of the years 317–24; they are Constantine and Licinius Augusti, with the former’s sons Crispus and Constantine and the latter’s son Licinius all named in the rank of Caesar (*P.Ryl.* 617). Since the Caesars’ names are not quite accurately given on the petition, it is conjectured that the document was written near the beginning of their appearance on the public scene.⁵⁰ Evidently, this argument, if it is valid at all, bears upon the date of the petition rather than that of the journey. We have no idea how much time may have passed before the reuse of the papyrus for travel memoranda, which may themselves have been written up after the completion of the journey, when Theophanes was putting his records in order.

A further fragment of Theophanes’ itinerary is written on the back of what was apparently another petition containing a few surviving letters of an official reply, or *subscriptio*, written in Latin at the foot of the text.⁵¹ In this as in the previous case, the section of itinerary written on the reused document happens to relate to Theophanes’ homeward journey, but it would be

47. Line 10 of *P.Ryl.* 623 shows the traces of “sine ratione quodammodo” instead of “quodammodo sine ratione” of *P.Lat.Strasb.* 1, cf. Roberts, p. 113; the writer left out “quodammodo” in error and added it, with the following word “sustinere,” in cramped letters at the right margin.

48. *PLRE* I, pp. 9 (Achillius 1), 247 (Delphinus).

49. *P. Vindob. Boswinkel* 14, cf. C. H. Roberts, “A footnote to the civil war of A.D. 324,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 31 (1945), p. 113; *PLRE* I, p. 970 (Vitalis 1). There is no reason to follow Roberts’s speculation that Theophanes’ journey had something to do with these preparations. It is not even clear that the galleys (*polykōpa*) need be sea-going warships.

50. Roberts, pp. 105 and 111 with n. 3: “a fine, official hand.” The name of Flavius Julius Crispus is given as Flavius Valerius Crispus, and that of Valerius Licinianus Licinius as Valerius Constantinus Licinius (sc. in Greek, Likinnios). However, Crispus is on other documents called Valerius instead of Julius (T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* [1982], p. 7 and n. 27), and the mistaken name of Licinius Caesar could just be a matter of confusion. To maintain balance between Constantine and Licinius, the Caesars are listed in the order Crispus, Licinius, Constantinus, although all were elevated on the same day. The exact period denoted by the combination of names is 1 March 317 to 24 September 324.

51. *P.Ryl.* 621 is the petition; 636 is the itinerary written on the back of it.

wrong to assume from this that the petitions were presented as part of his duties at Antioch and used as scrap paper on the way home. This would be a somewhat premature use, to quote Roberts, of “departmental waste paper”; a petition with a Latin *subscriptio*, which was nothing less than the response of the imperial authorities to the petitioner, should reach its originator in a more intact state than this!⁵² That Theophanes had such documents in his possession does, however, suggest that from time to time, and perhaps on this journey, he might be acting in an official or semiofficial capacity.

It was also pointed out by Roberts that the price levels recorded in Theophanes’ accounts, when compared with those of Diocletian’s *Edict on Maximum Prices* of 301 and rates of inflation since the publication of the edict, are not consistent with a date much later than 320. This conclusion is confirmed in the study of fourth-century inflation by Roger Bagnall: “The outer limits established by the editor for these accounts were 317–323. The prices appear overall compatible with the levels prevailing in the early 320s. But leeway of about a year on either side cannot be eliminated.”⁵³ The question of monetary inflation will be further pursued in chapter 7 below. In the meantime, a date for Theophanes’ journey of between 320 and 324, perhaps to be narrowed down to 322 or 323, seems to be best supported by the evidence.⁵⁴

Vitalis’s letters for Theophanes are written in the characteristically oblique style of later Roman (and not only later Roman) letters of recommendation. Disdaining specific details, in a well-trying sequence of sentiments they proceed from expressions of respect on the writer’s part to a sense of obligation on the recipient’s, by way of the recognized virtues of the beneficiary. The language further combines its allusions to rank and status with a distinct lack of precision as to what these actually were.⁵⁵ Vitalis does not give his own rank or position, which are known to us from the other papyrus just referred to (about the repair of ships). He does not describe the office of “our lord brother” Philippus, at whose “suggestion” Theophanes was undertaking his vexatious journey, or those of Achillius or Delfinius, to whom he addressed the letters. Achillius’s office as governor of Phoenice is known, not from the text of the letter but from the address on the outside of the papyrus, and this was no doubt true of Delfinius also, if we had possessed the entire document. Vitalis says nothing of the purpose of Theophanes’ journey or of the rank or office of Dyscolius, to whose *officium*, or bureau, Theophanes

52. Roberts, p. 105 n. 1. This document (*PRyl.* 621) is not dated. Another fragmentary petition in the archive carries the date of 313 (*PRyl.* 619; Constantine and Maximinus). Theophanes’ public activities evidently covered a wide span of years.

53. *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt*, p. 29, cf. Roberts, p. 105: “in this decade [sc. 320–30] or the years immediately preceding.”

54. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 271 n. 76, indicates 322 or 323 as the date of the journey.

55. Unfortunately Moscadi’s commentary is confined almost entirely to the literary language of the letter. The best discussion is that of Hannah Cotton, *Documentary Letters of Recommendation*, with remarks on the style of the letters at pp. 44–7. Even the reference to “our little children” (*infantum nostrorum*) is generic, if indeed the phrase occurred in both versions of the letter.

was traveling. The reference to an *officium* and the allusions to Theophanes' origin and to his status as a "scholasticus," or advocate, are the most precise technical details in the whole letter, but they do not take us very far along the road to understanding it.

One answer to these difficulties is the rather obvious remark that the business at hand was known to those involved, and that if it was not, then Theophanes himself was well able to explain it. Letters of recommendation by Symmachus and other masters of the genre show that their beneficiaries often carried additional documentation in the form of a *libellus*, or memorandum describing the matter at issue, and were expected to explain their business by word of mouth if necessary. Lacking this information in the case of Theophanes, we must find some other way of advancing the story, and I begin with some basic facts about the government of Roman Egypt in his time.

In the early Roman empire, as is well known, Egypt was governed as a single entity by a *praefectus* of equestrian rank, responsible directly to the emperor. It was a post of high honor, forming, with the praetorian prefecture, one of the summits of the equestrian career. Since the reforms of Diocletian in the 290s, however, the administration of Egypt had been subdivided, and it was now composed of five provinces.⁵⁶ Two of these were far to the west in (modern) Libya and do not concern us here. The other three were Aegyptus Iovia and Herculia in the north and Thebais in the south. The last of these, as we have seen, was Theophanes' own province; it ran from just north of Hermopolis and Antinoopolis to the first cataract of the Nile at Syene (Aswan) and Philae. In the north, Aegyptus Iovia, which took its name from the divine title, Iovius, of the senior Augustus Diocletian, encompassed the western delta, including Alexandria; it was the descendant of the early imperial prefecture of Egypt, and its governor still bore the title *praefectus Aegypti*. Its companion province, Aegyptus Herculia, took its name from the title of Diocletian's colleague Maximianus "Herculus" and comprised the eastern delta with territories to the south. Whatever prestige may have flowed from the prefect's position as governor of the senior "Jovian" province and bearer of the historic title *praefectus Aegypti*, in terms of his formal attributions of power he was just one governor among others.⁵⁷

Another element in Diocletian's reform was the creation of regional groups of provinces under the rubric of diocese (Greek *διοίκησις*, originally an untechnical word for "administration"), governed by deputies of praetorian prefects who were attached to the imperial court and were not resident in any particular part of the territories controlled by the emperors whom they served. These deputies were normally called just that—*vicarii*, deriving from the Latin phrase "agens vices," or "taking turns" for someone who is not there in person. Later in the fourth

56. See on what follows Lallemand, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte*, esp. pp. 49–53, 58–60.

57. This is borne out by the fact that the other provinces of Egypt are separately attested in papyrus records, but not Aegyptus Iovia; this was the province of the *praefectus Aegypti*, whose competence was now limited to this area; see the Fasti of *PLRE I*, pp. 1083–84, 1098–99.

century the Egyptian provinces were grouped under the authority of an enhanced *praefectus Augustalis* and became formally equivalent to a diocese,⁵⁸ but in the time of Theophanes this was not so. In this earlier period, with which we are concerned, the Egyptian provinces were classed with those of Arabia, Palaestina, Phoenice, and Syria under the diocese of Oriens, with its chief city at Antioch. The diocesan governor of Oriens later bore the title of count, or *comes*, but in terms of his attributions of power he was a regular *vicarius*, and this is indeed still what he is called in laws of the year 325.⁵⁹ There has been some debate about the exact function of *vicarii* and dioceses, but a satisfactory explanation is that they represented in a regional context the praetorian prefects' interest in finance, taxation, and minting.⁶⁰

The division of Egypt into smaller provincial units did not apply to its financial administration, in which, as his name implies, the *katholikos* held authority over the entire group of provinces.⁶¹ The effect of this arrangement was to maintain the integrity of imperial financial control over the whole region as it had been in the earlier period, while the status of the individual provinces was reduced. In consequence, the formal relationship between the authority of the *katholikos* and that of the provincial governors is, and probably was at the time, somewhat unclear.⁶² If we presume that a provincial governor ranked above the *katholikos* in his area of competence, the province, it is much less obvious how his powers would relate to the more specific powers of the *katholikos* over a wider area, if a conflict of interest arose between them. For the record, however, the governors and the *katholikos* had equal formal status; all were *viri perfectissimi*, the equivalent of what would in the early empire have been called equestrian rank.

Technical as they are, such details are of the essence of bureaucratic life, and they will help us to interpret the nuances of Vitalis's letters of recommendation for Theophanes. We can begin with a firm statement and a secure inference. Theophanes' journey to Antioch was to the chief city of the diocese of Oriens, to which the Egyptian provinces were attributed. At the time, the later years of Licinius, the city of imperial residence was Thessalonica, and the prefect, whose name we happen to know as Julius Julianus, would not be found at Antioch.⁶³ It follows that Dyscolius, to whose *officium* Theophanes was traveling, was the prefect's deputy,

58. Hence the full title of J. Lallemand's book (above, n. 42).

59. *PLRE* I, p. 590 (Valerius Maximus 49), and *Fasti*, *PLRE* I, p. 1082.

60. Michael Hendy, "Mint and fiscal administration under Diocletian, his colleagues, and successors A.D. 305–24," *JRS* 62 (1972), pp. 75–82.

61. He was the equivalent of the Latin *rationalis summarum*; Lallemand, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte*, pp. 84–87; Cotton, *Documentary Letters of Recommendation*, pp. 42–43; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 67.

62. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte*, pp. 85–87.

63. *PLRE* I, pp. 478–79 (Julianus 35); Barnes, *New Empire*, p. 128, cf. 80 for Thessalonica. Roberts was mistaken in identifying Dyscolius as the praetorian prefect of the East (p. 104, where Achillius is also carelessly described as "Governor of Syria").

or *vicarius*, the official later known as the *comes Orientis*. From this, as from the involvement of the *katholikos*, we can conclude that the business in hand was financial—some question of property, taxation, or financial administration involving the emperor's interest.

The indirectness of Vitalis's letter does not end with offices, titles, and the purpose of Theophanes' journey. It also leaves unclear the relations between Philippus, Vitalis, and Theophanes and what role each played in the enterprise. The expressions of courtesy used by Vitalis imply that he, his "lord brother" Philippus, and the recipients of his letters enjoyed comparable status but otherwise say little; if direct orders were being given by any of the participants in the enterprise to any of the others, Vitalis's language does not reveal it. However, we have seen that the authority of Vitalis as *katholikos* extended to the whole of Egypt. Roberts's idea, that Philippus was *praefectus Aegypti* with authority over all the Egyptian provinces, is refuted by what was said above about the competence of the prefect in this period.⁶⁴ We may conclude that Philippus was governor of one of the Egyptian provinces. As for which province this was, the likeliest is Theophanes' own province of the Thebaid, since Theophanes began his journey at Hermopolis and it was at Philippus's "suggestion" that he made it; to which we may add that Theophanes' origin at Hermopolis in the Thebaid is one of the few precise details given in Vitalis's letter. At least one other governor was involved in the enterprise, however, for the travel memoranda show that before starting on his journey proper, Theophanes received at Babylon both a soldier of the *katholikos* and officials of the *hēgemōn*, or governor of the province. This would presumably be the governor of Aegyptus Herculia, the province in which Babylon was situated. It may just have been a courtesy call, but, as we shall see, in the last days of the journey some sort of meeting or assembly took place at Babylon, which may well mark its successful accomplishment.

It is possible to read the connections between Philippus, Vitalis, and Theophanes in a variety of ways, but a reasonable suggestion might be that an issue of property, taxation, or finance had arisen between the central government and some party or parties in the Thebaid, and possibly other Egyptian provinces. The governor of the Thebaid and the *katholikos* were involved, and perhaps because of their different points of view (the governor was closer to the province's, the *katholikos* closer to the emperor's interest) and the uncertainty of the relative standing of the two officials, it was found appropriate to seek its resolution by the common superior of both, the praetorian prefect's deputy at Antioch.⁶⁵ As we shall see below, the outcome of the affair is described by Theophanes as a *symbolē*, a contract or agreement. It is a

64. Roberts, pp. 104–05, thinks that Philippus "was probably the *augustalis* of Egypt," but this is an error. At this date there was no *praefectus Augustalis*, the prefect of Egypt being the governor of Aegyptus Iovia, and nothing more.

65. Theophanes' records from Antioch include references to "Panopolitai," or citizens of Panopolis, and to a "man from Oxyrhynchus." It is possible that these were other parties to the dispute (or negotiation).

settlement between the parties rather than a victory of one side over the other, which again bears out the suggestion that the matter at issue was one of finance, not law.

The idea that Theophanes was himself a member of the staff of the *katholikos* is at first glance supported by some of the official documents in the archive as a whole—including fragments of a taxation list of the province of Aegyptus Iovia (not his province of origin).⁶⁶ In this case his role would have resembled that of an *advocatus fisci* of the earlier period—a spokesman or advocate appointed to represent the emperor's interests in financial lawsuits. In a way this makes excellent sense, but it does not quite fit the way in which Vitalis writes about Theophanes' venture, for he attributes to Philippus rather than claiming for himself the initiative for the journey about to be undertaken. The word *suggestio*, with which Vitalis describes Philippus's role in the affair, is less casual than its English derivative may imply—it is, for example, used of the promoter of imperial legislation—and we need not doubt that it was in his capacity as a governor that Philippus “suggested” the idea of a journey to Theophanes. However, Vitalis falls short of saying that the journey was made at the direct order either of himself or of Philippus.⁶⁷

Vitalis also writes that Theophanes' journey was being made in some way or other (“quodammodo”) “sine ratione.” He means, not that he thought the journey irrational or senseless, but that Theophanes lacked something like an allowance or expense account.⁶⁸ This might explain the scrupulous records of his journey kept by Theophanes, if he was hoping to claim his expenses later from those in whose interests he made the journey. It is also further evidence that the journey was not made simply on behalf of the imperial government. If Theophanes had been acting for the *katholikos* as a member of his staff, Vitalis would have known why he lacked an expense account—or rather, he would actually have had one.

We might then think of seeing Theophanes in a somewhat different role from those suggested so far: not as an agent of the emperor (as represented by the *rationalis*) but as a spokesman for his city or province, chosen for his prestige and connections to represent his constituents before the imperial authorities. Theophanes' lack of an official account for his journey might even suggest that he undertook it as a public service to the community or communities on whose behalf he acted. It may seem surprising that such an enterprise, defending the interests of a city or group of cities against those of the imperial authorities, would receive

66. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 271, has Theophanes as a member of the staff of the *katholikos*. Roberts, p. 104, put him on the staff of the prefect of Egypt—but, as explained above, this derives from a misunderstanding of the functions of that official in the relevant period.

67. Cotton, *Documentary Letters of Recommendation*, pp. 41–42, regards the *suggestio* as equivalent to a *relatio* and tantamount to a formal instruction. This is a little too strong (that some *suggestiones* were put in the form of a *relatio* does not mean that all were), but still, a *suggestio* does have a formal dimension to it; see my *Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code* (2000), pp. 160–62, 171, 242–43.

68. Moscadi translates, “in certo qual modo senza compenso.”

the protection of a provincial governor and a *katholikos*, but it is really not so strange once we bear in mind the political and cultural alliance between the government and the leading men of the cities of the empire, on which imperial administration was largely based. It was to the benefit of governor, *katholikos*, and community alike to resolve the matter by agreement rather than be reduced to a confusing trial of strength with no obvious winner.

It has been thought that the survival of Vitalis's letters of recommendation in Theophanes' archive shows that he never used them, but this is to take too literal a view of the situation.⁶⁹ The letters, though addressed to provincial governors, may never have been delivered or shown to them. Without ever leaving Theophanes' possession, they might be effective in a variety of situations. They could be shown, for example, to a supervisor of the imperial transport service who was suspicious of Theophanes' right to use it, to a customs inspector at a provincial frontier who expressed too close an interest in what he was carrying in his baggage, to a military patrol that might decide to question a traveler, or to the host of a way station that was rapidly being filled up with other parties looking to stay the night. Without exposing himself or Philippus to any suspicion of abusing their authority, and without assuming powers which they did not possess, Vitalis's letters, citing the governor's initiative and addressed to his colleagues, might protect Theophanes against such difficulties, help him to win benefits to which he was not strictly entitled, and generally make his vexatious journey more tolerable.

69. Roberts, p. 104.

3 The Road to Antioch

Preliminaries and Preparations

THE MEMORANDA OF Theophanes' journey fall into four sections, beginning late in the Egyptian month Phamenoth, when Theophanes made his preparations for departure, and ending in Mesorē, when he returned to Egypt. This corresponds to the period from mid-March to early August in the Roman calendar; on either count, Egyptian or Roman, his journey extended into six months of the calendar year. The first section (*P.Ryl.* 627) records the preparations for the journey and its early stages, including a complete itinerary from Nikiu in the Nile delta to Antioch and various transactions en route. The second section (*P.Ryl.* 639) relates to the first period of Theophanes' stay at Antioch, from the establishment of his party there on Pachon 10 (May 5).¹ This part of the archive is in fragmentary condition, but, supported by the other materials, it informs us about the first part of Theophanes' stay in Antioch. The third section (*P.Ryl.* 629), technically the least difficult and in terms of content perhaps the richest in the archive, preserves almost intact Theophanes' daily accounts at Antioch for the month of Pauni (May 26 to June 24). The first eight days of Epeiph (June 25 to July 24) are missing from the memoranda, but the fourth and final section, reconstructed from various drafts and fragments, covers the last fifteen days of Theophanes' stay at Antioch and his journey home (*P.Ryl.* 630–37 with a return itinerary at 638). The last entry is for Mesorē 16 (August 9). These four parts of Theophanes' mission are taken in turn in this and the chapters that follow.

1. We shall see below that Theophanes arrived at Antioch on the evening of Pachon 7 and that his party joined him there over the following three days.

The first part, recorded on both sides of a large papyrus (measuring 70 by 25 cm) that also contains entries not connected with the journey, is difficult to interpret and requires extensive rearrangement in order to present its story. Its compilers set out their material in nine columns on each side of the papyrus, but after the first four columns (on which more below) they did not enter their annotations in sequence, clusters of notes being put where there was room for them or in the first blank space that fell under the hand; sometimes a new cluster of entries was added at the head of a column and the space below later filled with material that reads out of sequence with what appears above it.² Even the formal itinerary is divided between two columns, and there are two drafts of part of it. The “unwinding” and presentation of this material in chronological sequence present us with an intricate task. Yet all but a few details can be placed in context, and the translation given below is of the reconstructed order of the text.

In the first four and two later columns of the papyrus (recto i–iv and viii, verso ix), we find inventories of clothing, linens, blankets and various coverings, utensils, provisions, and household articles. Roberts’s suggestion that these were Theophanes’ packing lists for his forthcoming journey has generally been followed by later readers of the archive. Ramsay MacMullen, summarizing the lists, described how Theophanes packed “6 *sticharia*, 6 *dalmatica*, 3 *idiochromoi*, 2 *maphortia*, 2 *birroi*, 1 chlamys, 3 wraps, 1 turban, several towels, sandals, leggings, jewelry, linen, bedding, tapestries, lamps, cups, spices, food, wines,” in addition to articles bought on the road.³ Like Roberts, MacMullen remarked on the elaborate nature of Theophanes’ wardrobe, much of it described in words new to the Greek dictionaries, noting Roberts’s observation that Theophanes, on the evidence of the lists, was “something of a dandy” (though also, it should be added, in Roberts’s opinion “well equipped for desert travelling”).⁴ A further detail was noticed by the sharp eye of E. G. Turner. Among the items of clothing, and among the many with Latin names listed by Theophanes, were *brekia* (two pairs), from the Latin *bracchia*, breeches or trousers. It looks like a hint of a late Roman style of dress and a token of officialdom.⁵

There are also items of jewelry—chalcedony, amethyst, and other semiprecious stones—and a perfume casket. Such items might seem surprising as part of a packing list for a journey—but perhaps not, for what else should we expect of someone who possessed letters of introduction to Roman governors and could look forward to being entertained at high levels of society? The later Roman empire was a time of color and pageantry, when ranks and prestige were expressed in the way one presented oneself. It might have been thought neglectful for

2. Viz. recto cols. v, vii, vi (in this order) and verso cols. iii–iv (see below for recto cols. i–iv, viii, and verso col. ix. The itineraries are at verso cols. ii and viii.

3. “Imperial bureaucrats in the Roman provinces,” p. 308; Kalleris, “‘Trophai kai Pota,’” pp. 693, 697 n. 1, etc.

4. Roberts, p. 117.

5. E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*, p. 131: “Breeches here make an early appearance in the outfit of a high-ranking imperial civilian.” The reference is to recto, col. ii line 33.

Theophanes to take less trouble with his personal appearance. A detached fragment of papyrus (*P.Ryl.* 644.9) mentions even a *praeco*, or herald, though it is impossible to say whether this man was employed to announce the arrival of Theophanes' party in cities along the route or whether he had something to do with courtroom procedures at Antioch and was not a member of the party at all. The fragment may, after all, have no connection with the journey.

Despite its initial plausibility, the interpretation of these columns of the papyrus as packing lists begins to lose conviction as one examines their contents more closely. To begin with a technical matter, it was noted by Roberts that the fifth column of the papyrus begins with a new hand from the first four columns of inventory.⁶ This might be significant, but it is not decisive (and Roberts himself made nothing of it). The change of hand might betray differences of use and context for the two parts of the papyrus, or it might merely suggest that two assistants were involved, for reasons unknown to us, in the recording of information. Possibly in favor of the identification of the inventories as packing lists is the mere fact of their presence on a papyrus otherwise devoted to Theophanes' journey, and an unnoticed detail, the Greek letters *ka* for "21," written in the margin of the first column. If this mark, like similar marks elsewhere in the papyrus, denotes the day of the month, the identification of the month as Phamenoth would set the entry within the chronological frame of Theophanes' preparations. But it is not obvious why a date should be added four lines into a classified list of articles of clothing, and even if the annotation were a date and the month were Phamenoth (and we do not know this), it might still refer to transactions made before Theophanes' journey rather than his preparations for it. As for the suggestion that the papyrus otherwise contains only material relevant to Theophanes' journey, we shall see that this is not strictly true either. Several groups of entries, more deeply embedded in the memoranda than these, belong to the period preceding the journey.

The interpretation of the inventories as packing lists is least problematic in the case of the earlier columns, which list clothing, fabrics and coverings, and such assorted equipment as one can imagine being useful on a journey. It would not be so surprising if a packing list were to resemble a household inventory. A prolonged journey of a numerous party like Theophanes' might well look rather like a household on the move; but one may still question whether a party so encumbered could have sustained the rate of progress—an average of more than thirty miles, and once or twice more than forty miles a day—that we shall see was achieved by Theophanes. It looks like a party aiming for rapid progress to its destination rather than the leisured enjoyment of wayside amenities. One might wonder whether even the best-prepared journey need provide itself with both a hanging lamp and a lamp-stand and two footstools, and it is as one looks more closely into the detail in the later columns of inventory that the interpretation seems progressively more unlikely. It is not clear why the needs of a journey

6. Roberts, ad loc. (line 90), p. 123: "a difference in ink and hand." I can verify this from inspection of the papyrus, adding that the same hand as in cols. i–iv appears in the further list at col. viii.

should suddenly encompass linen chests containing 16 linen sheets, 24 of the undyed garments known as *idiochromoi*, and no fewer than 184 of the *campestra*, or loincloths, regularly worn by slaves (recto iii, 63–64); or why Theophanes should need quite so many varieties of floor coverings and cushions, all differentiated in type. The foodstuffs listed in col. iv, and especially some of the quantities (fragmentary though they are),⁷ suggest the contents of a kitchen or storehouse rather than food prepared for a journey, while a whole series of materials and implements in col. viii point to the activities of weaving and embroidery of fabrics characteristic of textile production.

Taken as a whole, the columns of inventory are reminiscent, not so much of packing lists for a journey, as of the catalogues of household effects that one finds at estate sales. It is as if the compiler of such a catalogue were moving room by room through a house, finding most articles in their expected places, and noting them where he found them.⁸ So he proceeds from linen clothing to blankets, coverings, and outer garments in one part of the house (cols. i–ii), to lamps and other household implements in another (col. iii), then on to a pantry or storeroom with the quantities of food just mentioned (col. iv), and to a workshop containing jewel boxes and semiprecious stones, spools, combs and other implements for weaving, and purple-dyed wools in various categories, all set up for the manufacture of fabrics and fine clothing (col. viii). If we are looking at a workshop, perhaps the chalcedony, amethyst, and other gems are not pieces of jewelry but the unworked stones, waiting to be cut and polished and worked into finished articles or sewn into garments. It is almost the archaeology of a working household—indeed, an archaeologist would be very happy to find such an array of materials and artefacts so neatly arranged in a single site, so precisely stratified to the early fourth century, and so inexpensive to study!

As for its presence in the archive, Theophanes' position as a *scholasticus* and as one connected with the imperial administration might give him a number of reasons to possess an inventory of household effects. If it is not Theophanes' own property, we may be looking at a house for sale, or the estate of a deceased citizen of Hermopolis, or caducous property to which the municipality or fisc has a claim, or property put at risk by the outcome of a case at law. One can imagine various possibilities, but if one thing seems clear, it is that these are not packing lists.

The context and meaning of the sixth and final column of inventory (verso, col. ix), are difficult to discern. It seems to belong neither to the preparations for the journey nor to the inventories of its predecessors, its contents are miscellaneous, and its lacunae make much of it

7. Col. iv line 72 gives a number that must amount at least to 130, if not to 230 or 330 (the letter giving the hundreds is missing) tubs of (salted) meat, and the preceding lines list a similarly uncertain but large number for fine bread.

8. The "table linen" (*sinodonin sigmatur*()) mentioned at recto, col. ii line 42 (cf. col. viii line 185 *sigmatia*) is understood from the curved table (*stibadium* or *sigma*) used in the later Roman dining context; for this and other interpretations of detail, see appendix 2.

difficult to interpret in any sense. The figure of 1 talent, 200 drachmas that appears at the very end must either be unconnected with the four talents mentioned in the previous line or be a balance in hand after other expenditures. I give a translation of these columns of *P.Ryl.* 627 because of their inherent interest, but they are not connected with the journey to Antioch and will play no further part in the story. As in all the translations that follow, particular attention is directed to the “Notes on the Text” in appendix 2.

P.Ryl. 627 recto, cols. i–iv, viii, verso,
col. ix: Household Inventories

recto, col. ii (lines 27–42)

recto, col. i (lines 1–26)		Ditto, coverings:	
List of apparel:		leather cushions	2
light undershirts	2	bedcover	1
<i>idiochromos</i>	1	fringed coverlet	1
21 dalmatic tunics	2	blanket	1
<i>idiochromoi</i>	2	pillows	2
ζ more headscarves	2	breeches	2
—hooded cloaks	2	boots (pair)	1
—mantle	1	felt slippers (pair)	1
Ditto, linens;		mattress	1
shirts	4	small rug	1
ζ dalmatic tunics	4	traveling capes	
ζ shawls	3	leather groundsheet	
face-cloth		head-cushion	
<i>drakion</i>	1	ζ binding-strips	
bath-towels	4	table linen (?)	
face-towel	1		
linen sheets	4	recto, col. iii (lines 43–64)	
<i>romaika</i>	2	[lines 43–48 fragmentary]	
(18a) towels		soup-ladle (?)	
loincloth	1	[lines 50–51 fragmentary]	
napkins	2	wooden [. . .] (<i>sing.</i>)	
<i>homērikon</i> [		iron r[ing]s (?)	
[[line 22 deleted]]		l[amp] and lamp-stand	
[lines 23–4 fragmentary]		l[amp, han]ging	
fringed mantle		[. . .] drinking cups	
ba[th-robe (??)]		[lines 57–59 fragmentary]	
		(?)small lin[en? . . .]	

[line 61 *fragmentary*]

pot[tery. . . (??)]

chests, containing 16 [lin]en sheets,

24 *idiochromoi*, 184 loincloths

recto, col. iv (lines 65–89)

Ditto, provisions:

wine, knid(ia) []

(ditto?), spathia []

honey, knid(ia) [.]6

olive oil, metrêtai [.]6

fine loaves [.]30

plain loaves []

meat, tubs [.]30

cheeses []

(?)olives, x(estai) []

vinegar, knid(ia) []

fish-sauce, spath(ia) []

(?)pickled fish, knid(ia) []

small cheeses, knid(ion)

lentils, spath(ia) []

melons, 2

leeks

[], jars

footstools (?)

relish

artichokes

green vegetables

eggs

fresh water (vessels)(??)

fruit

recto, col. viii (lines 155–87)

Ditto, [. . .]

perfume box

cabinet

jacinth

chlaron (gemstone?)

bright Tyrian purple (wool)

single-dyed (wool)

chalcedony

amethyst

flask of fine oil

ventilating fan

Tyrian purple (wool), shell-fish dye,

6 lbs.

wicker baskets

weaving combs

spools

balls of twine

hair-cord (?)

sandals

pumice-stone

spa[tula (for weaving)?

palm[-measure?]

as above, more s[poools?], 16

[lines 177–82 *fragmentary*]

order[-book] (?)

spon[ge(s)]

table napkins (?)

fine olive oil

perfume box

verso, col. ix (lines 333–49)

to the officer [

for dinner [

provi[sions

[line 337 *indecipherable*]

earthenware pitcher

more (fire-?)wood

sacks, (weighing?) tal. [

for a loincloth [

loincloth

bundles of firewood [

and for a small dalmatic tunic [. . .]
 [. . .] loincloth
 two jars [of? . . .
 for materials [for? . . .

cash, 4 tal.

Cash total, 1 tal., 200 dr.

The Outward Journey

The earliest dated entries relating to Theophanes' journey to be found in *P.Ryl.* 627 appear in the second half of Phamenoth. We meet Theophanes on 18th of the month (equivalent to March 14), providing wine for the midday meal of some *officiales*, an early sign that his journey had something to do with government business. Other entries relate to expenditures on Phamenoth 21, 23–24, and 27–30; as is indicated in the translation below, most of these transactions seem to be connected not with the journey, but with Theophanes' outstanding business before it began. These are draft records only, and it is not surprising to find Theophanes' preparations for his forthcoming journey overlapping with his previous activities. An entry immediately following that for Phamenoth 21 shows, however, that by 27th of the month Theophanes was installed at Babylon, an important garrison town and administrative center located near the eastern bank of the Nile (on the site of Old Cairo). He is seen buying oil and soda (*nitron*) for the baths, in what was evidently an extended stay in the city. His journey has begun.

It is impossible to tell in what places the earlier dated expenditures were incurred or how long before Phamenoth 27 Theophanes had arrived at Babylon. On that day, apart from his preparations for the baths, he provided for a midday meal "on the boat," and in an undated entry entered before those for Phamenoth 21 and 27, he accounted for wine used "on the boat." This was how he had traveled down from Hermopolis; five days later, on Pharmouthi 2 (March 28) he is found providing wine for the "sailors departing for Hermopolis with (?)Achilleus." This must be the crew that had brought him down to Babylon by river and was now returning home. It is not apparent how long this earlier stage of the journey had lasted, for it is only from Babylon forward that expenditures were regularly assigned to the places in which they were incurred. From now on, we can follow the journey relatively closely.

Theophanes' continuing presence at Babylon is recorded for each of the first six days of Pharmouthi⁹ and, if they refer to expenses incurred at that time and are not back-references to earlier expenditures, in entries following Pharmouthi 7 and 8. To judge from the visitors

9. Roberts missed a date at line 153; see appendix 2.

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 3.1. Ruins and site of Egyptian Babylon in the *Description de l’Egypte*. Charles Coulston Gillispie and Michel Dewichter, *Monuments of Egypt: The Napoleonic Edition; the complete archaeological plates of La Description de l’Egypte* (Princeton Architectural Press, 1987).

for whom he provided on Pharmouthi 2, it was a busy time in which, no doubt, his journey and prospective business were discussed. On that day, he furnished with wine a “Pannonian soldier” (or else “the soldier Pannonius”—in either case a nice late Roman touch) and celebrated the “presence of the *officiales* of the governor.”¹⁰ Presumably this is the governor of Aegyptus Herculia, within which Babylon was situated. Whether or not Theophanes’ business concerned him, it would be a courteous gesture, and might also be helpful, to inform the governor of his arrival and, if he did not know it already, the purpose of his journey. As suggested earlier, I think it likely that the business affected them both. Theophanes also accounted on the same day for wine “to us.” The conventions of record keeping used in the memoranda would indicate that this was an allowance made for the members of the staff who accompanied him. This is because the record was kept, not personally by Theophanes but by a secretary, so that when an entry says “to us” it means the members of his staff, and when it says “to you,” it means Theophanes. We should not assume that Theophanes and his staff never had drinks or meals together, only that when this distinction is made in the accounts, this is what it means.

On Pharmouthi 9 or 10, after spending at least thirteen days there, Theophanes took his departure from Babylon. A block of notes, marked off in the papyrus but in fact not out of chronological sequence,¹¹ locates him in the important city of Athribis on Pharmouthi 11–12; there he bought meat, eggs, two varieties of vegetables, and *loukanika*, or smoked sausages. (An entry recording the purchase of *nitron* has been deleted—not because Theophanes had decided against a bath but because the entry had been made in the wrong place.) The formal itineraries in the memoranda take their departure from Nikiu, but this city lies rather far to the west and is not on the direct route from Babylon to Pelusium. Since the itineraries give no actual mileage from Nikiu to Athribis, it seems likely that Nikiu is given as the formal starting point of the itinerary, but that Theophanes actually picked up the road at Athribis, having traveled there by the direct route from Babylon.¹²

That Theophanes makes no further mention of his mode of travel is taken to show that from this point he was not arranging his own transport but was using the imperial transport service, or *cursus publicus*. This would be consistent with his rate of progress, which exceeds that expected of the regular traveler.¹³ From Athribis he reached Antioch in twenty-four days covering thirty-five journey stages (the itineraries mention a number of places through which

10. A question put to me by Colin Adams has made me wonder whether this “Pannonius” might have been an escort for Theophanes’ journey.

11. Despite Roberts, p. 123 ad loc. (lines 202ff.). It was at Athribis that, on this or another occasion, Theophanes met one Dionysius of Attinu, as described in the previous chapter.

12. The itinerary does not permit the diversion to Alexandria supposed by Roberts (p. 105).

13. Roberts, p. 105. The *Digest* (2.11.1; Gaius) allows twenty miles per day for litigants to travel to courts where their presence is required. Theophanes’ rate of progress is considerably (more than 50 percent) faster than this.

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 3.2. Survey of Athribis in the *Description de l’Egypte*. Charles Coulston Gillispie and Michel Dewichter, *Monuments of Egypt: The Napoleonic Edition; the complete archaeological plates of La Description de l’Egypte* (Princeton Architectural Press, 1987).

the party passed without staying the night). In a day he traveled distances ranging from a modest 16 to a very strenuous 45 Roman miles, the usual distance being between 24 and 35 miles. The *average* daily distance covered was 32 miles, six hours’ traveling if the speed of the imperial transport service is estimated at 5 miles an hour, and if it is correctly surmised that Theophanes was using it. On many days Theophanes must have traveled more than eight hours, and on the last day of his itinerary, which can be identified as Pachon 7, he covered no fewer than 64 miles from Laodicea to Antioch. On this occasion, however, the circumstances were different. There appear in the accounts “six Sarmatians,” whom it would be persuasive to see as a mounted escort for Theophanes on the last stage of his journey. The result was to get him from Laodicea to Antioch at a rate much faster than that of the rest of his journey, while the remainder of his party stayed behind to follow him later.

This conjecture is supported in the accounts, for in these latest stages of Theophanes’

journey, a group of entries preserved at verso, col. v (lines 288–300) refers to sums of money allowed to Eudaimon in respect of a meal at Laodicea, to Horus in respect of (his journey from?) the same place, and to Hermes, who is said to be remaining there. The next entry, which is for Pachon 8, records expenditure in a *tabernion*, or way station, and the following entry, for the same date, refers back to meat bought at Caesarea but not yet accounted for. It looks as if Theophanes and a small advance party, escorted by the Sarmatians, arrived at Antioch in the evening of Pachon 7 after the long final day's journey just described. They had one or two days to find accommodation for the entourage and settle themselves in at Antioch, and for Theophanes to report his arrival to the office of the *vicarius*. Hermes, who had remained at Laodicea, then joined Theophanes at Antioch with the remainder of the party, traveling in more leisurely fashion on Pachon 8 and 9. They would have spent the evening of Pachon 8 at the *tabernion* referred to, arriving at Antioch on the evening of Pachon 9.

This reconstruction is further endorsed by an irregularity in the accounts for the remainder of the month Pachon (*P.Ryl.* 639; see below). These give a cumulative total to Pachon 9, continuing with an accounting period of six days, Pachon 10–15, before reverting from Pachon 16 to the regular five-day periods used for the rest of the memoranda. A likely explanation of the unusual six-day accounting period beginning from Pachon 10 is that this was the day on which the entire party had assembled at Antioch, and it was convenient to classify the expenditures of this one day with the group of five that follow.

The memoranda for the outward journey, different in character and much less detailed than those for the return journey (see chapter 6), reveal little more than occasional episodes of a more intimate nature. They are, however, moments of some interest. At Pelusium, Theophanes bought a traveling hat (*pilion*) for the rather large sum of 2,400 dr., at Ascalon a gilt statue of the emperor for dedicating in a temple, and entry tickets for the theater and odeion. Ascalon was a city of refined and Hellenic taste in which these things would be expected, but still, Theophanes' visit there added something to our knowledge; "Till now," wrote C. H. Roberts in 1952, "there has been no evidence that it possessed a theatre and concert hall."¹⁴ At either Ptolemais or Tyre, on Pharmouthi 28 (April 23) Theophanes commemorated his daughter's birthday, presumably by another dedication in a temple; this is no doubt one of the daughters mentioned in the letter of Hermodorus to Theophanes translated in the previous chapter.

P. Ryl. 627: The Outward Journey

Recto v, 90–99 + vii, 130–41, ending with "total expenses at Antinoopolis." These entries, which occur at the top of their respective columns, include no dates and

are evidently unconnected with Theophanes' journey; like the household inventories presented above, they belong to his business preceding it. If the current month is Phamenoth, then the reference to the previous month's expenses in lines

14. Roberts, p. 123, on lines 219–20.

130–33 will be to Mecheir. A similar entry, consolidating expenditure over a period of time, occurs at lines 256–59, and is the regular practice for the months of Pachon, Pauni, and Epeiph presented below:

90 Inventory of raph[anos] oil;

(a) in vessels; one metrētēs less

16 kotylai

(b) do., of 8 choes

(c) do., of 8 choes

(d) do., of 8 choes

(e) do., one metrētēs less [. . .] 8 kotylai

96 Receipts of w[ine] from

Hermesios, 50 knidia

[. . .] likewise of wine, 2 knidia, 8

spathia [. . .] and 2 knidia, [from

?Harpa]los 54 knidia, 12 spathia

and from Hermes the courier, 4 knidia

130 Receipts of cash from the

previous month, cash

account 3 tal. 5,800 dr.

and from Harpalos 2 tal.

makes altogether 5 tal. 5,800 dr.

Expenses;

To complete payment to Theodoulos

of 100 tal., on my account 700 dr.

To young Herminos the *adiutor*,

for the cost of raw linen 2 tal. 3,000 dr.

[?To the person] coming fro[m the

??kathol]ik(os) [

[. . .]

Total expenses

at Antinoopolis [. . . tal.] 200 dr.

?Verso iv, 265–68 [Phamenoth?] 13. It is unclear where these lines should be located. Although the day is clear, the month is not stated, while the lines stand at the head of a column, followed by a large space, and could be stray entries from the records of some earlier time.

At any rate, they are inconsequential in terms of Theophanes' journey. It is true that he bought raphanos oil at Babylon on his way home (P.Ryl. 630.548, see below), but that was at a cost of 100 drachmas for 5 xestai. It is unclear what he would now want with two orders, each of 500 drachmas, and these entries too are best seen as part of Theophanes' prior interests in and around Hermopolis:

265 13th, [. . . . ac]count

cost of raphanos oil 500 dr.

cost of raphanos oil 500 dr.

[cost of . . .]s and chickpeas 100 dr.

The first dated sequence is at recto vi, 121–29, again (though untidily) at the top of the column, mentioning Phamenoth 23, 24, 18, in that order. Although they overlap in time with the earliest extant references to Theophanes' journey, the first two entries still seem connected with his preceding business; note especially, comparing with lines 137–38 above, the reference to the treatment of linen at line 127. The appearance of some “*officiales*” for a meal on Phamenoth 18th should, however, be a hint of the imminent journey:

121 [?items] brought [by the]

tradesman(?) [. . .]

Phamenoth 23rd		100 [Phamen]oth 27th, for lunch on	
olive oil, vessels	5	the boat, 1 knidion	
meat, tub	1	to t[he same (<i>pl.</i>)], for dinner with the	
24th do. (sc. Phamenoth)		[bo]y[s](?), 4 knidia	
wine, knidia	50	to those with Eudaimon a[nd. . .]	
alum for treating linen, 22 kōt.,		and Hatres and to the others,	
14 psiath(ia)		knidia [. . .]	
do. [. . .], 26 kōt., 13 psiath(ia)			
		28th, for lunch, wine, [1] knidion	
18th do., for lunch for the		29th, 1 spathion	
<i>officiales</i>	1 knidion	30th, for dinner,	1 knidion
		108 Pharmouthi, at Babylon,	
→Verso iii, 250–55 (once more at the top		1st, for dinner, wine,	1 knidion
of a column, confirming that this is the		2nd, at Babylon	
order in which the notes were written),		to Eudaimon, for Pannonios,	
entries for Phamenoth 21 and 27, with		the soldier of the katholikos,	
expenses for wine “on the boat” and		wine	2 knidia
showing Theophanes at Babylon on 27.		do., late, wine for dinner	1 knidion
From now we can be sure that the jour-		do., for lunch, wine	1 knidion
ney is under way:		do., for the visit of the <i>officiales</i>	
		of the governor	1 knidion
250 expenses for wine on the boat		do., for Pannonios the soldier,	
21st, for lunch, wine, 1 knidion		wine	1 knidion
[2]7th, at Babylon		do., for us, wine	1 knidion
cost of common bread for the		do., for the boatmen departing	
boys	200 dr.	to Hermopolis with	
olive oil for you (sc. Theophanes)		(?)Achilleus	1 knidion
for the bath	100 dr.	[??lat]e, for dinner	1 knidion
cost of soda	700 dr.		
		→Recto vii, 142–54. At Babylon:	
→Recto v, 100–120, Phamenoth 27–30,		142 Pharmouthi,	
followed by Pharmouthi 1–2. Theophanes		2nd, at Bab[y]lon]	200 dr.
is still at Babylon; on Pharmouthi 2 he		cost of green vegetables	100 dr.
receives a soldier of the katholikos and		3rd do., cost of relish	400 dr.
some “ <i>officiales</i> ” of the governor. His boat		to the attendant come from	
and crew then return to Hermopolis,		(?)[Herm]o(polis)	200 dr.
leaving Theophanes to pursue his		cost of green vegetables	100 dr.
journey:		cost of honey fo[r . . .]	100 dr.

cost of 3 artichokes		Verso iii, 256–61 and 262–64 (at foot of column), Pharmouthi 17; 18th at Pelusium (263) and 23rd at Gaza (264). The lines begin with a summary of expenditures for the preceding period, and then give a calculation of cash assets to be transferred to a “new account”—to cover the next stage of Theophanes’ journey (the sum in line 259 is inaccurate and should be 3 talents, 3,900 drachmae). The “new account” receives the considerable sum of 33½ talents; compare below the total expenditure of 18 talents, 4,400 drachmas for the month of Pauni and a similar amount for Pachon. At the foot of the column, Theophanes seems to be drawing sums of money from his account from Eulogius, who was evidently in charge of it. He may be a financial manager, traveling with the party if not strictly a member of it—he also makes appearances at Antioch and on the journey home:
an[d ?...]	200 dr.	
4th do., to the water-carrier	100 dr.	
5th, cost of lettuces	100 dr.	
cost of green vegetables	100 dr.	
6th, cost of fish	200 dr.	
cost of antimony	100 dr.	
→Recto ix, 188–201 [Pharmouthi]		
[6], 7–8 [?9, 10]. At Babylon:		
188 cost of 3 rings for the [. . .]		
(pl.)	30 dr.	
cost of meat, 4 lbs.	600 dr.	
7th, cost of boots for Horos	1,300 dr.	
8th, cost of green vegetables [		
cost of (?)kemia [		
[9th?], [. . .] do. [		
cost of eggs [		
cost of fish [		
at Babylon		
cost of artichokes [		
cost of (?)kemia [		
later at Babylon		
to Eudaimon, for the assessor of		
the [?kath]olikos, in cash	1 tal.	
→Recto ix, 202–08 [Pharmouthi] 11–12.		
At Athribis:		
202 11th, at Athribis,		
cost of meat, 4 lbs.	600 dr.	
cost of eggs	200 dr.	
cost of green vegetables	100 dr.	
cost of (?)kemia	100 dr.	
12th, [[cost of soda	200 dr.]]	
cost of sausages	200 dr.	
		(at bottom of column)
		256 Expenses [?from . . .] to 17th Pharm[outh]i inclusive 1 tal. 5,900 dr.
		and to the wine account 1 tal. 4,000 dr.
		makes altogether, 3 tal. 4,900 dr.
		and from 18th, to hand 33 tal. 3,000 dr.
		to the new account
		262 from Eulogius 1 tal., 4,000 dr.
		18th, from the same, at Pelusium 1 tal.
		23rd, at Gaza, from the same 1 tal.

→Verso i, 209–20 + iv, 280–87, expenses
at Pelusium, Ascalon, Caesarea, Sidon,
and Berytus:

209 For lunch to Horos, son of
Bellos, 200 dr.
(lines 210–11 deleted)
At Pelusium,
for the cost of a felt cap 2,400 dr.
At Ascalon 600 dr.

(at bottom of column)

214 [...in the] foreco[urt]
at the temple

imperial gilded statue

entrance to the theater
and odeion

280 to Eudaimon
to Hermes

26th, at Caesarea
to Eudaimon

28th, for her birthd[ay]
to my dau[ghter]
at Sidon [...]
at Berytus [...]

+Verso, vii, 312–23, listing expenses
assigned to a separate “private” account
from Pharmouthi 18 to 30 at Raphia,
Ascalon, and other unnamed places:

313 Private account [...];
18th, cost of loaves) [[.]]
at Raphia [[]]

24th, at Ascalon
cost of loaves 800 dr.
25th, cost of loaves 800 dr.
26th, cost of loaves 800 dr.
cost of soap 200 dr.
27th, cost of loaves 800 dr.
28th, loaves 800 dr.
29th, loaves 800 dr.
30th, loaves 800 dr.

→Verso iv, 269–79, Pachon 3–5, at Anta-
rados, Balanea, Laodicea. The figure for
refined bread in the last of this group of
entries has been deleted:

269 Pachon, the [...ac]count
3rd, to Hermes [...]
4th, at Antarados [
5th, at Balan[ea . . .]
at Little Ba[laneion?]
for drinking 100 dr.
to you, cash in hand for
loaves 200 dr.
at Laodicea
cost of fine (bread) [[500 dr.]]
[lines 278–79 deleted]

→Verso v, 288–300, Pachon 7(?), 8, 9,
11. We find members of the party re-
spectively coming from or staying at
Laodicea:

288 (7th?), to Euda[imon], for lunch
at Laodicea 800 dr.
late, to you (?) for dinner,
fresh meat 200 dr.
to Horos, (coming) fr[om]
Lao]dicea 200 dr.

to Hermes, r[emain]ing at		<i>clear where they belong, but lines 310–11</i>
Laodicea,	1,500 dr.	<i>repeat the two deleted lines at verso iv</i>
8th, at the lodging		<i>278–79, with a difference in the sum re-</i>
a spath[ion] (?) of syrup for		<i>corded (900 for 1,000 dr.). In both cases</i>
sweetening(??)	200 dr.	<i>the nearest context gives the city of Lao-</i>
8th, to Eudaimon, also from		<i>dicea. It is conjectured above that the</i>
Hermes, for the cost of		<i>Sarmatians were an escort for the final</i>
meat at Caesarea	100 dr.	<i>stage of Theophanes' journey, which,</i>
for 9th, to Eudaim[on]	1,100 dr.	<i>as is shown below, was on Pachon 7. It</i>
for lunch []	300 dr.	<i>appears from line 290 above that Horos</i>
to Hermes r[emaining at		<i>may have accompanied Theophanes</i>
Laodicea?]	500 dr.	<i>on this long final stage to Antioch:</i>
11th, to Hermes [. . .]	500 dr.	
		to Herakleon [] dr.
<i>Verso vi, 307–11 presents the following</i>		<i>on the same day, late</i>
<i>undated entries, forming a little group at</i>		<i>to the six Sarmatians 400 dr.</i>
<i>the bottom of col. v rather than a sepa-</i>		<i>for the use</i>
<i>rate col. vi, as shown by Roberts. It is un-</i>		<i>of the Sarmatians 500 dr.</i>

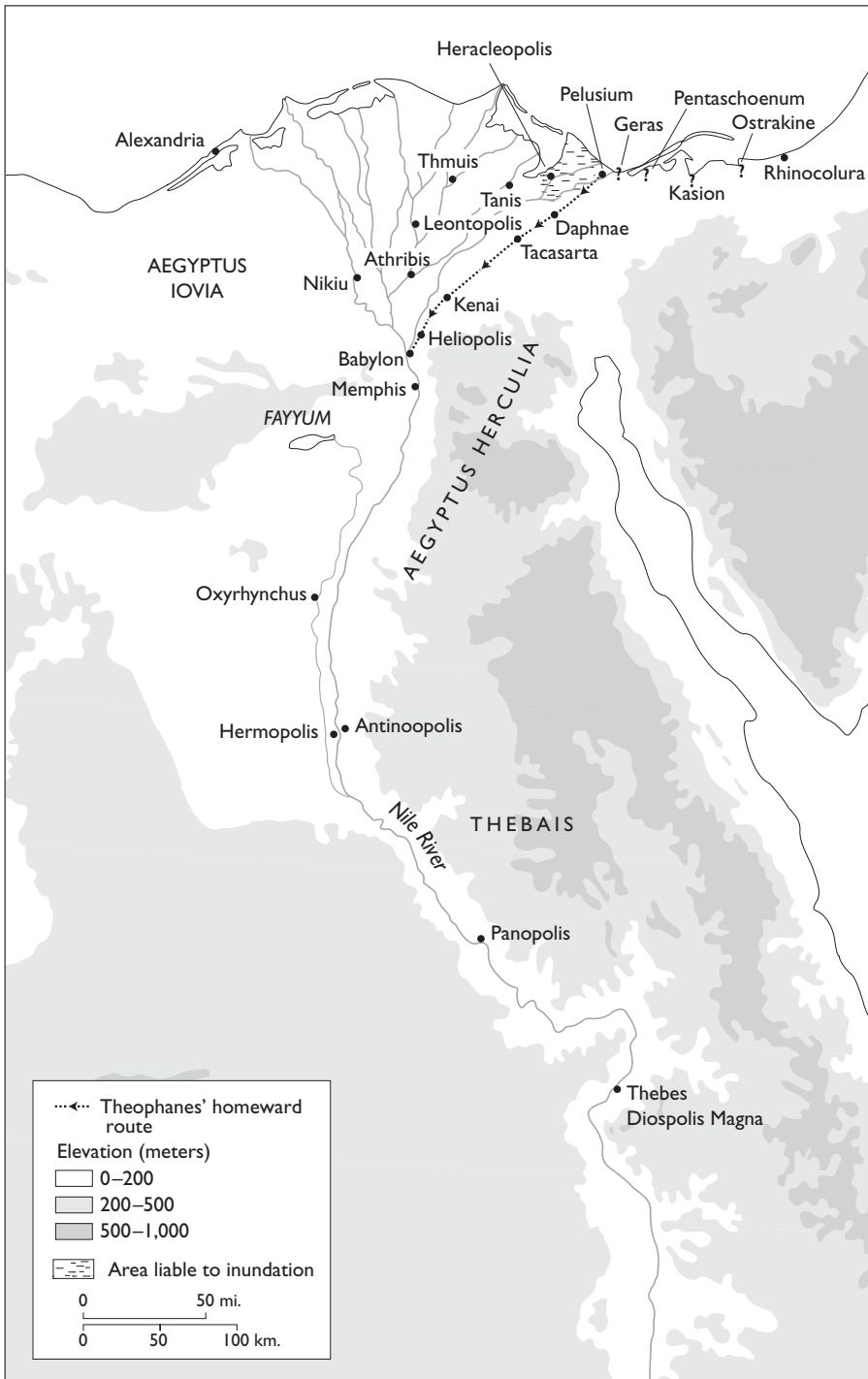
The Itineraries

Divided between two columns of the same papyrus (verso ii and viii) is a formal itinerary with mileages, recording Theophanes' journey from Nikiu to Antioch in twenty-five numbered stages (twenty-four from Athribis to Antioch), each stage representing an overnight stay.¹⁵ The total number of entries is thirty-six, since it includes various intermediate places through which Theophanes passed without spending the night there. I give first the translated text and then discuss the few problems that it presents.

P.Ryl. 627 verso, cols. ii, lines 223–49, and viii, lines 324–33; col. ii

List of stopping places;	m. 24
1 From Nikiu to Athribis, m. —	4 From Thmuis to Taneis, m. 24
[no figure]	5 From Taneis to Herakleopolis,
2 From Athribis to Leontopolis,	m. 21
m. 20	6 From Herakleopolis to Pelusion,
3 From Leontopolis to Thmuis,	m. 24

15. Twenty-four stages if, as suggested above, Theophanes joined the route from Nikiu at Athribis. Measuring by the journey stages, Theophanes could not have left Athribis before Pharmouthi 13 and also have been at Pelusion on the 18th of the month (see above).



Map 1. Theophanes' journey (1): Babylon to Rhinocolura. Drawn by Bill Nelson.



Map 2. Theophanes' journey (2): Pelusium to Antioch. Drawn by Bill Nelson.

7	From Pelusion to Geros, m. 10	15	From Caesarea to Ptolemais, m. 44
	From Geros to Pentaschoinon, m. 11	16	From Ptolemais to Tyre, m. 45
8	From Pentaschoinon to Kasion, m. 16	17	From Tyre to Zanara, m. 16
9	From Kasion to Ostrakine, m. 26		From Zanara to Sidon, m. 20
[10]	From Ostrakine to Rhinocolura, m. 24	18	From Sidon to Berytus, m. 34
		19	From Berytus to Biblos, m. 24
			col. viii
[11]	From Rhinocolura to Boutaphion, [m. ..]		(From Biblos) to Theouprosopon, m. 18
	From Boutaphion to Raphia, m. [1]3	20	From Biblos to Tripolis, m. 36
[12?]	From Raphia to Gaza, m. 24	21	From Tripolis to Arcae, m. 16
	From Gaza to Ascalon, m. 15	22	From Arcae to Antarados, m. 30
13	From Ascalon to Iamnia, m. 20	23	From Antarados to Balanea, m. 24
	From Iamnia to Lydda, m. 12	24	From Balanea to Ibella, m. 14
14	From Lydda to Antipatris, m. 11		From Ibella to Laodicea, m. 20
	From Antipatris to Allage, m. 17	25	From Laodicea to Hydata, m. 50
	From Allage to Caesarea, m. 16		From Hydata to Daphne, m. 10
			From Daphne to Antioch, m. 4

Leaving aside some cases in which the recorded distances in Theophanes' itinerary differ from those presented by other sources,¹⁶ the only real problem occurs between the journey stages numbered 9 and 13; five entries have to be matched to three journey stages (nos. 10–12), whose numbers, and with them the divisions between the stages, are not extant on the papyrus:

Stage 9	Kasion to Ostrakine	26	Boutaphion to Raphia	3(?)
[10]	Ostrakine to		Raphia to Gaza	24
	Rhinocolura	24	Gaza to Ascalon	15
[11]	Rhinocolura to		13 Ascalon to Jamnia	20
	Boutaphion	[?]	Jamnia to Lydda	12

Stage 10 as proposed here, 24 miles from Ostrakine to Rhinocolura, is uncontentious. Most stages in this part of the journey are in the range of 21–26 Roman miles, Rhinocolura was an important town—also a border town between provinces—in which Theophanes is likely to have stopped, and to extend the day's journey to the next stage would be excessive. Assuming

16. See the table given by Roberts, p. 107. One of these sources, the so-called Bordeaux Itinerary, is discussed in chapter 4. Discrepancies are generally not worth pursuing in detail, since numbers in ancient texts are subject to extreme uncertainties in transmission.

therefore that stage 11 began at Rhinocolura, the distance between that town and Raphia, not preserved in the papyrus, is given by the Peutinger Map and the Antonine Itinerary, respectively, as 34 and 22 Roman miles; the latter figure is an error, the actual distance (El Arish to Rafah) being 28–30 English miles. If Theophanes stayed the night at Raphia on the completion of stage 11, then the next day's journey to Ascalon was one of 39 Roman miles in Theophanes' own estimate, a longer distance than those preceding but not untypical of the later stages of his journey.

This sequence produces regular journey stages, Rhinocolura to Raphia and Raphia to Ascalon, but it is not entirely free of problems. These relate in part to the way in which the accounts were kept. In the first place, the expenditure recorded for Gaza on Pharmouthi 23 (verso iii, 264) would have been incurred *en passant*, in a city in which Theophanes did not stay overnight. He would have reached Ascalon on the evening of Pharmouthi 23, so that the expenditure recorded at Ascalon for Pharmouthi 24 (verso vii, 315–16) would have been incurred the following morning, as he set out on stage 13 to Jamnia and Lydda. There is nothing impossible in this, but some awkwardness could be avoided if Theophanes stayed not one but two nights at Ascalon, arriving as described on the evening of Pharmouthi 23, spending Pharmouthi 24 in the city and setting out on the morning of Pharmouthi 25 in order to reach Caesarea, where he is known to have been at some time on the twenty-sixth. For other reasons too this is an attractive notion. Ascalon was the halfway stage of the journey to Antioch and might well invite a day's rest. The more expansive chronology would also allow for the activities recorded at Ascalon, where Theophanes bought tickets to the theater and odeion, presumably to see performances, and made a dedication to the emperor in a temple. None of these activities should be rushed, and there seems enough here, with mealtimes, to have taken up the better part of a day. Pharmouthi 24 would then appear as a rest day on a strenuous journey. It might be surprising if a traveler were to pass through a city like Gaza without staying there, but one cannot stop everywhere, and this might be preferable to cramping Theophanes' style at Ascalon. He cannot have stopped for the night at both Gaza and Ascalon, since this would produce too many journey stages, and he has to be at Gaza at some time on Pharmouthi 23 (verso iii, 264).

This reconstruction provides the following chronology for the itinerary, with which all the other details provided by the papyrus are consistent:

(to Pharmouthi 9/10, at Babylon, then:)

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1. | " | 11, [Nikiu] to Athribis (202–08) ¹⁷ |
| | " | 12, at Athribis (") |

17. See above on the "ghost" stage Nikiu–Athribis. The day's rest at Ascalon would disappear if Theophanes left Athribis on Pharmouthi 14 rather than 13. This is perhaps less likely, but it would not be inconsistent with the other indications for the early stages of the itinerary. Theophanes also missed out Gaza on the return journey; chapter 6 below.

- | | | |
|-----|--------|--|
| 2. | " | 13, Athribis to Leontopolis |
| 3. | " | 14, Leontopolis to Thmuis |
| 4. | " | 15, Thmuis to Taneis |
| 5. | " | 16, Taneis to Heracleopolis |
| 6. | " | 17, Heracleopolis to Pelusium (262, cf. 212–13) |
| 7. | " | 18, Pelusium to Geras to Pentaschoinon |
| 8. | " | 19, Pentaschoinon to Kasion |
| 9. | " | 20, Kasion to Ostrakine |
| 10. | " | 21, Ostrakine to Rhinokorona (Rhinocolura) |
| 11. | " | 22, Rhinocolura to Boutaphion to Raphia (264) |
| 12. | " | 23, Raphia to Gaza to Ascalon (315–16) |
| | " | 24, ?at Ascalon (219–20) |
| 13. | " | 25, Ascalon to Iamnia to Lydda |
| 14. | " | 26, Lydda to Antipatris to Allage to Caesarea (282) |
| 15. | " | 27, Caesarea to Ptolemais |
| 16. | " | 28, Ptolemais to Tyre |
| 17. | " | 29, Tyre to Zanara to Sidon |
| 18. | " | 30, Sidon to Berytus |
| 19. | Pachon | 1, Berytus to Biblos |
| 20. | " | 2, Biblos to Theouprosopon to Tripolis |
| 21. | " | 3, Tripolis to Arcae |
| 22. | " | 4, Arcae to Antaradus (271) |
| 23. | " | 5, Antaradus to Balaneia (272–75) |
| 24. | " | 6, Balaneia to Gabala to Laodicea (cf. 276; no date) |
| 25. | " | 7, Laodicea to Hydata to Antioch |

The preferred reconstruction of stages 9–13 is incorporated in the translation of the itineraries given above. Stage 25, from Laodicea to Antioch, was as described earlier; Theophanes and an advance party including Horus traveled to Antioch in a single day on horseback, escorted by the Sarmatian soldiers mentioned in the accounts. He arrived there on the evening of Pachon 7, while Hermes and the rest of the party followed later. The fragmentary accounts for the month of Pachon (see chapter 5) begin a new period of reckoning on Pachon 10, from which it may be inferred that by that date the entire party had assembled at Antioch.

4 Interlude

Travel and Topography

The Cursus Publicus

AS WE SAW IN CHAPTER 3, certain aspects of Theophanes' journey to Antioch, in particular the high rate of progress he was able to maintain throughout the duration of the journey, are best explained if he had access to the resources of the imperial transport service, or *cursus publicus*. This privilege is often claimed for the Bordeaux pilgrim whose journey forms a valuable counterpart to that of Theophanes, but it cannot be taken for granted. The mere coincidence of a journey with routes covered by the *cursus publicus* proves little more than the commonsense of the traveler in choosing roads in whose condition and security the emperors themselves had an interest. For any traveler on these main roads, and not just those who happened to possess official permission for its use, the facilities of the service provided the framework within which a journey was planned and measured, the physical and material resources within which it was conducted, and a high level of security. The Via Maris, the coastal highway taken by both our travelers, connected Egypt with the provinces of the eastern Mediterranean seaboard and their military hinterland and was one of the most important communication routes in the Roman empire. A road of such interest to the imperial authorities is unlikely to have often been the scene of banditry.

Such texts as the travel memoranda of Theophanes and the pilgrim of Bordeaux make clear the levels of planning that were available to travelers of all sorts, through the attention given by the imperial authorities to the physical links that held their territories together. It would be easy to say that the authorities' prime incentive for maintaining the system was the transport of armies, administrators, and supplies, the maintenance of security, and the movement of

taxes. Yet this result could surely have been achieved by a less comprehensive system than we see in the sources (and, through archaeology, on the ground of the Roman provinces), and it would be absurd to imagine that the authorities had no interest in the private travel made possible on such a vast scale by the facilities they provided. After the problems of communication and security caused by the political disruptions of the third century, the emperors of the early fourth century might have been well content to see their system in as good a shape as our sources of the period show it.

Like other parts of the late Roman state apparatus, the *cursus publicus* had evolved from a more informal practice known from earlier times.¹ From the beginnings of the Roman empire—and, in the east, in the Hellenistic kingdoms before it—the authorities had met their needs for the transport of personnel and goods by requisitioning these services, in men, vehicles, animals, and fodder, from those with the resources to provide them among the local populations. This is the so-called *angareia*, or impressed service, exemplified in Jesus' saying, "If anyone forces you to go one mile, go also the second mile" (Mt. 5.38). This does not just mean that if a Roman official asks you to carry him a certain distance you had better do what he says. It is an allusion to a *corvée* that could be demanded as a form of direct taxation—here seen, as in so much of the evidence, from the point of view of the victim of the demand. The institution, in an already advanced form as early as the principate of Augustus, is well documented from inscriptions of Asia Minor setting out the obligations laid upon local communities and determining those categories of official travelers who had the right to use it.²

By the time of the late empire, and surely much earlier, this more or less regular *corvée* had developed into the integrated transport system described here, the burden of which fell as a form of taxation upon local people. Leading citizens and retired imperial officials living among them were enrolled to supervise the system, carpenters and wheelmakers to build and repair wagons, rural populations to provide animals and their fodder and to serve as drivers, and so on. Through these arrangements, the Roman empire was covered by an extensive network of communications, of maintained roads with staging posts (*mutationes*) and lodging houses (*mansiones*) at regular intervals. *Mutationes* were situated around ten to twelve miles apart, *mansiones* more widely spread but still frequent, permitting the journey stages we find in the Theophanes memoranda.

The best illustration of the system in the Roman empire at large comes from the itinerary

1. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, pp. 830–34, gives the best brief account; see too L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (1974), pp. 182–90 (Theophanes at pp. 190–93); Anne Kolb, "Transport and communication in the Roman state: the *cursus publicus*," in Adams and Laurence, (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire* (2001), pp. 95–105.

2. The word *angareia* is of Persian origin, with the sense "impress into service." It is used also of the forcing of Simeon of Cyrene to carry Jesus' cross (Mk. 15.21; Mt. 27.32). For the epigraphic and other evidence for the early empire, there is a quite excellent article by Stephen Mitchell, "Requisitioned transport in the Roman Empire: A new inscription from Pisidia," *JRS* 66 (1976), pp. 106–31.

of the pilgrim of Bordeaux.³ Stage by stage and noting all distances, the pilgrim describes a return journey from Bordeaux to Jerusalem made just ten years after Theophanes. On his outward journey, he traveled through north Italy and the Danubian provinces to Constantinople, then from Chalcedon through Anatolia to Syria and Judaea. Returning by the same route as far as Constantinople, he then took the old Via Egnatia through Macedonia and Epirus, from Apollonia to Otranto and by way of Rome to Milan, where again he retraced the steps of his outward journey. In a passage subject to the usual uncertainties regarding the textual transmission of figures as well as some errors in calculation, the writer gives the distance from Bordeaux to Constantinople as 2,221 (Roman) miles, 230 *mutationes*, and 112 *mansiones*.⁴ The pilgrim's last outward stages from Antioch to Caesarea, coinciding with part of Theophanes' homeward route, can be computed with only minor uncertainties as 347 miles, 22 *mutationes*, and 14 *mansiones*.⁵ It is a remarkable journey, especially when we consider the skepticism often expressed by modern writers about land transport in the Roman empire. Laborious and slow it might be, but, short of technical inventions lying far in the future, it is hard to imagine anything more effective, practical, or secure than the system of communications made possible in the Roman empire by the *cursus publicus* and the resources that underpinned it.

Such a convenient system was naturally open to abuse, as people without authority used influence and bribery to gain access to it, and as local officials were glad to eke out modest salaries by obliging. Indeed, the vast bulk of the evidence is of abuses of the system, perceived through complaints and through the remedies offered by the imperial authorities.⁶ The literary sources are full of examples, as in the autobiographical *First Oration* of Libanius, in which the orator told how he had arrived at Constantinople on the way to Athens to discover that the official by whose authority he expected to use the *cursus publicus* had fallen from power, so that he had to continue his journey by ship in the dangerous season. A more famous misuse (rather than abuse, for it had the emperor's authority) is recorded in Ammianus Marcellinus's complaint that Constantius allowed so many bishops to use the system for traveling to church councils that it nearly collapsed under the strain.⁷ By the 430s, the compilers of the Theodo-

3. *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Latina CLXXV (1965), I, pp. 1–25, with indexes in vol. II. This edition is based on earlier published versions, essentially those of P. Geyer, *CSEL* 39 (1898), pp. 3–33, and O. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana* I (1929), pp. 86–102. See Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, pp. 307–09; O. A. W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (1985), pp. 128–29. For the Itinerary in context, Benet Salway, “Travel, Itineraria and Tabellaria,” in Adams and Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire* (2001), pp. 22–66.

4. For the computations, see the *Corpus Christianorum* edition of the text, p. 8 (§571) with notes.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13 (§§584–85).

6. Mitchell, “Requisitioned transport in the Roman Empire,” p. 106.

7. Libanius, *Or.* 1.14 (trans. A. F. Norman, *Libanius' Autobiography (Oration I)* (1965), p. 11, and in *Libanius: Autobiography and Select Letters* I (ed. Loeb, 1992, pp. 69–71); Amm. Marc. 21.16.18. For these and other instances, cf. *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, pp. 263f.

sian Code were able to assemble sixty-six pronouncements on the *cursus publicus*—it is one of the longest titles in the entire code—and two more on the subject of travel warrants with subsistence (*De Tractoriis et Stativis*).⁸ The majority of these texts are later than the time of Theophanes' journey, but the documented abuses are obvious and are found in sources of early periods, while some later texts repeat the provisions of earlier ones. It is unlikely that it took enterprising Romans long to see how the system could be manipulated to serve their interests. There were always questions of valid and invalid permits, the presence or absence of governors' authority to issue them, loading instructions for wagons of various capacities and arrangements for their inspection and the general supervision of the system, the provision of animals and fodder, prohibitions to travelers against departing from the authorized high roads, and so on. The following three texts, from the mid-fourth century, give an idea of the character of the regulations and of the abuses that provoked them:

Constantius Augustus and Julian Caesar to Taurus, Praetorian Prefect.

Post warrants [*evectiones*] shall be demanded of all persons, no matter how distinguished they may be in rank, for no improper use must ever be allowed to bring ruin to the animals of the public post. If any such person should suppose that he may offer resistance in making a journey without a post warrant, We command that he shall be detained wherever he is discovered, and his name shall be referred to Your Prudence and to the Most Noble Musonius, Count and Master of Offices.

We ordain that only one thousand pounds of weight may be placed upon a carriage [*raeda*], two hundred pounds on a two-wheeled vehicle [*birota*], and thirty pounds on a posthorse, for it is apparent that they cannot support heavier burdens. Eight mules shall be yoked to a carriage in the summer season, but ten in winter. We judge that three mules are sufficient for a two-wheeled conveyance. We command that the supervisors of the districts shall administer all these regulations, subject to the statutory penalty (*CTh* 8.5.8: June 24, 357).

The same Augustus and Caesar to Taurus, Praetorian Prefect.

Your Admirable Sublimity shall know that no days shall be added to the time limits of post warrants, nor shall you indiscriminately issue post warrants with subsistence for the use of carriages [*raedarum tractoriae*], or simple post warrants for the use of two-wheeled conveyances [*evectiones birotum*]. We forbid Your Sublimity to assign post warrants or issue them to *agentes in rebus* [traveling imperial

8. *Codex Theodosianus* 8.5–6; trans. Clyde Pharr (ed.), *The Theodosian Code* (1952, repr. 1969) (the translation of 8.5.9 below is slightly amended). “*Tractoriae* and *stativae* (sc. *litterae*)” are letters of authority, respectively, for meals (cf. the Italian “*trattoria*”) and overnight stays.

agents]. For We consider that said persons will find sufficient those post warrants that after due consideration are furnished to them by Us or by the orders of the Masters of Offices of Our court (*CTh* 8.5.9; December 6, 357).

Imperator Julian Augustus to Mamertinus, Praetorian Prefect.

Since the public post has been prostrated by the immoderate presumption of certain persons and by the great number of post warrants which the authority of the vicars and the offices of the governors with the rank of praeses and consular do not cease to extend, We are compelled to undertake the supervision and administration of this matter, and We deprive all other persons of the right to issue post warrants. Therefore no person except you [the praetorian prefect] shall henceforth have the right to issue any post warrant. But in order that the public needs may be fulfilled, I Myself shall grant to each vicar ten or twelve post warrants that have been written out by My own hand, and Your Sublimity shall issue to each governor two post warrants annually, by means of which the said officials for necessary reasons may be able to dispatch their own apparitors [subordinate officials] to separate and remote parts of the provinces. To each of these governors Our Clemency will also grant one post warrant, that they may be able to refer matters to Us when necessity requires this to be done (*CTh* 8.5.12; February 22, 362).

In another regulation, closer to the time of Theophanes, after lengthy complaints about the illegal sale of post warrants and the imposition of relegation to an island for those found guilty of this abuse, the emperor had allowed that one who had the right to a postwagon might “associate someone with him for assistance, for the protection of his life and for undergoing the labor of the journey.”⁹ People did not usually travel alone, and ambiguity as to who precisely was covered by a permit might explain the experience of the noblewoman Melania, who with some difficulty obtained use of the *cursus publicus* for herself and her attendants at Tripolis, while traveling from Palestine to Constantinople in 437. When the official who had reluctantly provided the service realized the identity of the travelers, he ran after the party to apologize for his obstinacy and to return the “gratuity” of three gold coins he had received. The narrator of the episode, one of Melania’s traveling companions, first thought the official had followed them in order to revoke the privilege of the use of the animals. The situation might be explained if Melania, a lady of senatorial family whose uncle, an ex-prefect of Rome, had come to Constantinople on an official delegation, had the privilege, but the attendants traveling with her did not; the narrative reveals that although they all traveled together it was Melania’s companions, not she herself, who lacked the permission.¹⁰

9. *CTh* 8.5.4; June 22, ?326.

10. *Vita s. Melaniae*, 52 (ed. D. Gorce, *Sources Chrétiennes* 90, 1962, pp. 226–29 with notes). For the

Given the amount of information our sources present to us about the organization and conduct of the *cursus publicus*, it is natural to wonder how we should imagine the physical circumstances of Theophanes' journey—how many draught animals, how many carriages and of what sort made their way along the Levantine seaboard. The answer can only be a matter of guesswork, but the possibilities are limited by the evidence and by the situation in itself. It is obvious, for example, that Theophanes and his party were mounted on horseback or conveyed in carriages, with no one on foot except for a trained *cursor*, or groom, to lead the team of draught animals “at a swift walking pace.”¹¹ In no other way can such consistently high levels of daily progress, on both outward and return journeys, have been sustained; even if there were any point in treating them this way, we do not need to imagine panting slaves struggling to keep up with the wheeled vehicles. We may also judge from the presence or absence of certain items of expenditure in the memoranda (better documented, as we shall see, for the return than for the outward journey). Theophanes never accounts for expenditure on lodgings, from which we may infer that, whatever their legal authority, his travel arrangements resemble those set out in the second of the three Theodosian Code texts quoted above. As far as accommodation was concerned, Theophanes was traveling “with subsistence” (*tractoriae litterae*), but this did not include the cost of daily food provisions, which are accounted for in the memoranda.

At two points in the journey there are significant deviations from the regular practice. At the end of the outward journey, as we saw, Theophanes covered in one day a distance of 64 Roman miles from Laodicea to Antioch, a rate of progress that seems possible only if Theophanes himself, perhaps with one or two companions, had left behind the main party to ride ahead to Antioch; and this, we saw, is what is implied by the memoranda. The total sum of nine hundred drachmas allowed for “the six Sarmatians” may well, in that case, be a token gratuity paid to a military escort for this last stage of the journey. The main party then rejoined Theophanes a couple of days later, which is when the regular accounts for the period of residence at Antioch begin. Then, in the last phase of the return journey, we encounter the only reference in the entire memoranda to “fodder for the pack animals.”¹² By now we are on a road over the desert from Pelusium to Babylon that, though listed in the Antonine Itinerary, was not a main route and was not provided with the apparatus of the *cursus publicus*. The absence of any such reference during the main part of Theophanes' journey suggests, again, that fodder for the animals was covered in his travel provision.

The second of the Theodosian Code texts cited above makes a connection between *tractoriae*, or subsistence allowances, and the heavy four-wheeled carriages (*raedae*) pulled (in summer) by eight mules and capable of carrying a load of one thousand pounds' weight—or

circumstances of Melania's journey, see my *Laying Down the Law*, chapter 1. This part of Melania's route also coincided with that taken by Theophanes.

11. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, p. 179.

12. For this phase of the journey, see chapter 6 below.

more, since this was a weight limit imposed by law, which it is likely was often exceeded.¹³ This load converts easily into four passengers plus their traveling baggage; for a party of about eight persons, therefore, including slave attendants, one would visualize a convoy of two such heavy vehicles, with a temptation to wonder whether an additional vehicle, two- or four-wheeled, might offer Theophanes a little more privacy—to share, perhaps, with one or another of his more highly placed collaborators—and reduce the discomfort of the party at large.¹⁴ If the group, as is possible, extended to ten persons, then a third vehicle seems close to a necessity.

The Bordeaux Itinerary is more than a general parallel for the journey of Theophanes, for it offers a direct comparison for the stages of Theophanes' route between Antioch and Caesarea. Between these two cities, the pilgrim traced the same route as for Theophanes' homeward journey; later, returning from Jerusalem by a different road, he added to his itinerary the short section of Theophanes' outward journey to Caesarea by way of Lydda and Antipatris.

Shown below are those sections of the Bordeaux Itinerary corresponding to Theophanes' return journey, together with modern place-names and other indications where these may be helpful, but omitting certain comments relevant only to the pilgrim's purpose in traveling; it is not likely, for instance, that Theophanes knew or cared that the prophet Elijah had sacrificed at Mount Carmel (§585.1)! Places that are also mentioned in Theophanes' itineraries are shown in bold print, and one place mentioned by him but not extant in the Bordeaux Itinerary is inserted in angle brackets>. Place-names are given in their transmitted form, even when the corrections are obvious. Comparative distances are not given, since the text of the itinerary is uncertain, some places may have dropped from it, and others may appear in a distorted form; but it may be noted, for instance, that the overall distance of Theophanes' last day's journey from Laodicea to Antioch is agreed by both texts as 64 Roman miles. Apart from this, with a few exceptions the recorded mileages concur reasonably well with those given by Theophanes; where they differ, Theophanes' figures are almost always higher than those of the Bordeaux Itinerary. The Bordeaux pilgrim gives more stages in more detail, distinguishing, as Theophanes does not, between cities, lodging houses, and staging posts; here, as throughout, the Bordeaux Itinerary seems to give a complete account of the *cursus publicus* on the roads in question. Places marked with an asterisk are those also named in the so-called Antonine Itinerary, a collection of empirewide itineraries possibly dating in its original form from the early third century.¹⁵ It will appear at a glance that the Antonine Itinerary lists all cities and *mansiones* mentioned in the later text but pays no attention to intermediate *mutationes*:

13. Why these four-wheeled *raedae* should be distinguished in this way from two-wheeled carriages (*birotae*) is not clear, unless it were simply a question of the length of journey expected in each sort of vehicle.

14. For the vehicles, see Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, pp. 178–80, with some illustrations.

15. Cuntz, *Itineraria*, p. 21; Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, pp. 125–28. The itineraries, and the topic of travel in general, have received increased attention in recent years; see, for example, the collection of papers edited by Colin Adams and Ray Laurence, *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, esp. the

civitas * Antiochia	
ad palatium Dafne	milia V
mutatio Hysdata/ Hydata	milia XI
mansio *Platanus ¹⁶	milia VIII
mutatio Baccaias	milia VIII
mansio *Catelas	milia XVI
civitas *Ladica/ Ladicia	milia XVI
civitas *Gabala/" Ibella "	milia XIII
civitas * Balaneas	milia XIII
boundary of Syria Coele and Phoenice	
mutatio Maraccas	milia X
mansio * Antaradus	milia XVI
the city stands in the sea, 2 miles from shore	
mutatio Spiclin	milia XII
mutatio Basiliscum	milia XII
mansio * Arcas	milia VIII
mutatio Bruttus	milia III
civitas * Tripoli	milia XII
mutatio Triclis (sc. Trieris)	milia XII
mutatio Bruttos alia (sc. Botrys) ¹⁷	milia XII
<civitas * Biblo	milia XII>
mutatio Alcobile (sc. Palaeobiblo)	milia XII ¹⁸
civitas * Birito	milia XII
mutatio Heldua	milia XII
mutatio Parphirion (sc. Porph-)	milia VIII
civitas * Sidona	milia VIII

chapters by Benet Salway (pp. 39–43 on the Antonine Itinerary) and Kai Brodersen, "The presentation of geographical knowledge for travel and transport in the Roman world," pp. 7–21.

16. Sc. Platanos, a plane tree, as at *Itin. Ant.* 147.2 (ed. Cuntz, *Itineraria*, p. 21). Visitors to the Mediterranean will know that venerable plane trees can be famous landmarks.

17. Botrys and Sykaminos (see below) occur only on Theophanes' return journey and are not mentioned in the outward itineraries.

18. For the reading of "Alcobile" as "Palaeobiblo" (sc. "Old Byblos") see Cuntz, *Itineraria*, p. 94 and *CCL* p. 12. The distance Byblos–Berytus is given by Theophanes and the Antonine Itinerary as twenty-four miles, while the transmitted text of the Bordeaux Itinerary omits Byblos and gives the distance from "Palaeobiblos" to Berytus as twelve miles. The simplest solution, proposed also at *CCL* p. 12n., is to restore an entry for Byblos, as shown above. The distance Botrys–Byblos is given by Theophanes (*PRyl.* 638.9) as twelve miles.

(inde Sarepta	milia VIII ¹⁹)
mutatio ad Nonum	milia <V>VIII
civitas * Tyro	milia XII
from Antioch to Tyre, 174 miles, ²⁰ 20 staging posts, 11 lodging houses	
mutatio Alexandroschene (Escandelion)	milia XII
mutatio Ecdeppa (Achzib)	milia XII
civitas * Ptolemaida (Akko)	milia VIII
mutatio Calamon	milia XII
mansio * Sicaminos (Tel Shiqmona/Haifa) ²¹	milia III
mutatio Certha	milia VIII
boundary of Syria Phoenice and Palestine	
civitas * Caesarea Palestina	milia <X>VIII
from Tyre to Caesarea in Palestine, 73 miles, 2 staging posts, 3 lodging houses	

The following is the short extract of the Bordeaux pilgrim's return itinerary, where it coincides with stage 13 of Theophanes' outward journey as given in chapter 3 above. It was south of Lydda (modern Lod) that the road taken by Theophanes north from Ascalon joined that taken by the pilgrim from Jerusalem. From this road junction on, they followed the same route to Antioch:

civitas Lidda/ Lounda	
mutatio Antipatrida	milia X
mutatio Betthar (= " allage ") ²²	milia X
civitas Caesarea	milia XVI

The Peutinger Map

The Bordeaux Itinerary and the journey of Theophanes give us detailed pictures, derived from individual experiences, of particular sections of the system of communications based upon the *cursus publicus* and the facilities associated with it. For a more comprehensive picture of

19. Sarepta, where Elijah asked the widow for food, is an insertion derived from I Kings 17:8–16; "Zarephath, which belongs to Sidon." After the birthplace of Paul at Tarsus, mentioned in the previous section (§579.4), the entry is the second biblical allusion in the Itinerary. It does not strictly belong there, and the recorded distance from Sidon imports a confusion through a duplication of the mileage. "Milia <V>VIII" to "ad Nonum," sc. the ninth milestone from Sidon, in the following line, is an obvious correction for the MSS "VIII."

20. The actual mileage is 282; the transmitted text computes to 256. The simplest remedy is to ignore minor discrepancies and read <C>CLXXIII, sc. 274.

21. See above, n. 17.

22. The Greek word *allagē*, used by Theophanes to identify a place, means "mutatio," or staging post. On the return journey (P.Ryl. 638.17) Theophanes calls the same place by its name, Betaros.

the road system as a whole we may turn to other surviving instances of the literature on travel and topography from the Roman empire, in particular the illustrated map of the empire and its near neighbors known as the Peutinger Map.

The Peutinger Map takes its name from an early owner, Konrad Peutinger of Augsburg, who inherited it from a friend, a famous humanist scholar, in 1508.²³ The map stayed in the Peutinger family for over two hundred years, after which, through various changes of ownership, in 1737 it entered the Habsburg Royal Library, now the National Library, at Vienna. It is there that it remains and was at one time displayed, separated into the eleven (originally twelve) segments of which it is composed.²⁴ In its original form the segments formed a continuous strip about twenty feet long by one foot deep, showing in this very distorted frame the Roman empire and its neighboring territories to north, east, and south, from Britain to India. The first and most westerly segment is missing, and the map preserves only the part of southern Britain that overlaps onto the second segment.

The map as we have it is probably that drawn in 1265 by a monk of Colmar, from whose pen we have a brief note of his work, or else it is a close copy of that version, made after the westernmost segment had been lost.²⁵ The ancient map from which Peutinger's copy was made, whether directly or through intermediate versions, seems to belong to the fourth century, with details of that period overlaid on the Roman empire of earlier times, in a way that is characteristic of the evolution of documentary sources. The process is cumulative. New place-names and annotations are added over time, while obsolete information is retained, and material from different periods is found bundled together without distinction. There is nothing strange in this—on the contrary, it is precisely in this way that historical landscapes

23. See for general accounts Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, pp. 113–20, and G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (1983), appendix IV, “Ancient maps of Roman Arabia,” at pp. 164–71; Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, pp. 186–87; Salway, “Travel, *Itineraria* and *Tabellaria*,” pp. 28–32 and 43–47, and “The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map,” *Imago Mundi* 57.2 (2005), pp. 119–35. For a brief account of the manuscript history, L. Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana; una descrizione pittorica del mondo antico* (1983), pp. 14–16. For indications of a new and more positive appreciation of the virtues of the map, see Richard Talbert, “Cartography and taste in Peutinger's Roman Map,” in Talbert and Kai Brodersen (eds.), *Space in the Roman World: Its Perception and Presentation* (2004), pp. 113–41. I am pleased to note that the Peutinger Map is also brought into the Theophanes story in the article of P. Cauderlier, “Des bords du Nil à ceux de l'Oronte,” pp. 96–99.

24. A full-color facsimile is presented by E. Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana, Codex Vindobonensis 324; Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat* (2 vols., 1976); also A. and M. Levi, *La Tabula Peutingeriana* (1978), Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana*. The map is not now on public view, cf. Talbert, “Cartography and taste in Peutinger's Roman Map,” p. 141.

25. Bowersock, “Ancient maps of Roman Arabia,” p. 167f., and Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana*, pp. 165–67 (with earlier refs.), citing the passage of the *Annals of Colmar*: “In the year 1265, I drew a world map on twelve pieces of parchment.” It seems that even when the map was copied there were only eleven surviving segments, but the copyist may have perceived that there were originally twelve. Talbert, “Cartography and taste in Peutinger's Roman Map,” pp. 119–21, suggests that there were originally more than twelve segments, but I see no overriding arguments for this.

are built up. The map still shows Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiae, and Oplontis, which were destroyed in the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79. The port of Ostia—more precisely, Portus Augusti, not named but correctly distinguished from Ostia and shown on the right bank of the Tiber—is represented by the lighthouse, semicircular quay, and portico built by Claudius, with a suggestion of the mole protecting the inner harbor added by Trajan,²⁶ and the city of Antinoopolis in Egypt was given that name in the time of Hadrian. Jerusalem is noted to have been renamed Aelia Capitolina (again by Hadrian), with a Christianizing caption identifying (in red letters, as usual with physical features) the Mount of Olives. This, and the captions noting that the Children of Israel wandered in the Sinai Desert for forty years and that Mount Sinai was where Moses received the Law, could have been added in the late Roman period or at any point in the Middle Ages at which the map was copied.

An especially interesting example of this “overlaying” of a later Roman landscape on that of an earlier period is the image of Constantinople, shown as a city goddess with a picture of the column of Constantine (still to be seen, in its much damaged state, not very far from the entrance of the Grand Bazaar at Istanbul). This acknowledges a fourth-century reality, but the image of Antioch is more conspicuous and elaborate, expressing a time—the time also of Theophanes—when Antioch, and not Constantinople, was still the leading city of the east.²⁷ It is interesting that Alexandria, that other great eastern city, is not named and is indicated only by its famous Pharos, the lighthouse at the entrance to the harbor. The reason for this is probably that, for all its importance as a maritime center, Alexandria has little significance for the Roman system of road communications, which is what the map is designed primarily to show.

Much adverse comment has been directed against the map, particularly as to its distorted physical dimensions. Such comment is justified only if we assume that a map must necessarily be a spatially exact picture of the world it represents.²⁸ But no one ever imagined that the actual proportions of the Roman world and its neighbors from east to west and from north to south were in the proportions 20:1 or that the river Nile ran from west to east. Maps have different purposes, which offer different opportunities for representation and impose different constraints. The Peutinger Map is not a physical likeness of the Roman world but a diagrammatic representation of its system of communications—to which, as many a discussion of ancient travel will attest, it makes significant contributions. A comparison has often been made between the Peutinger Map and a schematic modern diagram such as the justly famous chart of the London Underground, which guides travelers around the Tube system while bearing a very slender resemblance to the physical configuration of the city that lies

26. Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana*, pp. 112–15.

27. For these images see *ibid.*, pp. 87–89.

28. Cf. Bowersock, “Ancient maps of Roman Arabia,” p. 168: “Ptolemy would have been horrified.”

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 4.1. Travelers on the road. Musée Luxembourgeois, Arlon

above.²⁹ The comparison may be allowed to make its point, that a map need not be a picture, but should not distract us from the great differences between them, especially in the lavish information about physical features—mountains, deserts, seas, and rivers, of which a very large number are named—that are shown on the Peutinger Map, together with a variety of pictorial representation that goes far beyond the merely diagrammatic, and, of course, distances. A more appropriate comparison might be with the route planners provided to road travelers

29. A comparison already made by Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, p. 120; see esp. Brodersen, “The presentation of geographical knowledge,” pp. 16–18, adducing also the current map of European communications (Region Europa). See, however, Talbert, “Cartography and taste in Peutinger’s Roman Map,” at p. 122, pointing out that the detailed indication of physical features is a feature of the Peutinger Map that the modern examples do not attempt.

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 4.2. The Roman East in the Peutinger Map; Pelusium to Berytus (K. Miller, *Die Peutingersche Tafel*, Segmentum IX.4–X.2).

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 4.3. The Roman East in the Peutinger Map; Biblos to Antioch (K. Miller, *Die Peutingersche Tafel*, Segmentum X.2–5).

by motorists' associations. A linear indication of the route, which is shown vertically on the page, as if it were always running north and south whatever the actual direction of travel, tells the traveler which cities will be encountered and the distances between them, which road junctions to look for and which direction to take, where one can find accommodation or gasoline (*mansiones* and *mutationes*, precisely), while a brief commentary gives a description of the landscape and any points of special interest. This is not unlike the procedure of the Peutinger Map, where vignettes of cities, staging posts and other settlements (distinguished by kind), and pictures of rivers, mountains, deserts, and seas are juxtaposed with distances and other features of the road system, and any coincidence between the apparent direction of a road and the actual direction of travel is more or less coincidental. Ancient sources, such as Plutarch and Vegetius, are familiar with the idea of an annotated and illustrated map.³⁰ In the case of the Peutinger Map, the system of communications that is the prime purpose of the map is enhanced by the pictorial details that surround it and by an impression of the geography of the Roman empire. It is a considerable logistical and artistic achievement.³¹

The proportions of the map have been assigned by some to the demands of a papyrus roll on which, it is conjectured, it was originally drawn, by others to the map displayed by Augustus's supporter Agrippa at Rome, in the Porticus Vipsania that bore his family name.³² A map of the world shown on the walls of a portico would indeed possess something like the proportions of the Peutinger Map, but if this were its origin we would still have to allow for details, indeed for whole regions that were added to the empire after the time of Augustus and cannot possibly have been in the original version. There is also the question of a change of use, for there is no suggestion that the map in the Porticus Vipsania was intended to show the road system of the Roman empire, even as it existed in the days of Augustus. If an explanation be sought in terms of original materials (and what I have said about the practical purpose of the map makes this unnecessary), the papyrus roll remains a better suggestion.

Figs. 4.2–3, taken for ease of reproduction from the facsimile version of K. Miller, show Theophanes' route as his itineraries record it.³³ They also show the route taken by the pilgrim

30. See the opening words of Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*: "Just as geographers . . . crowd on to the outer edges of their maps the parts of the earth which elude their knowledge, with explanatory notes that 'What lies beyond is sandy desert without water and full of wild beasts,' or 'blind marsh,' or 'Scythian cold,' or 'frozen sea,' so in the writing of my Parallel Lives," etc. (trans. B. Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives* I, ed. Loeb, p. 3); Vegetius, *Epit. rei militaris* 3.6: "The more careful generals are said to have had itineraries of the provinces requiring their attention, not just annotated but illustrated as well, so that they could select the best route for their march by visual inspection as well as by mental appraisal" (trans. N. P. Milner).

31. I owe my appreciation of this point to the article of Richard Talbert, "Cartography and taste in Peutinger's Roman Map."

32. Cf. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, p. 114 (papyrus roll); Bowersock, "Ancient maps of Roman Arabia," pp. 164–67, 170–71 (Porticus Vipsania).

33. The monochrome photographs published in Vienna in 1888 are available at the Ancient World Mapping Center at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (<http://www.unc.edu/awmc/rev/tpeut/raster1888>).

of Bordeaux from Chalcedon through Asia Minor to Tarsus, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The pilgrim's road can be followed from Nicomedia across to Eribolum and Nicaea, then through Dadastana and Juliopolis to Ancyra (not named but conspicuous on the map), on through Aspona and Tyana and, by a road not easily traceable in the facsimile, through Podandus and the Taurus Mountains to Cilicia and Tarsus.³⁴ The elaborate image of Antioch (see frontispiece), with its river and aqueducts, water sources and gardens, can be compared to the fifth-century topographical mosaic discussed below.

The City of Antioch

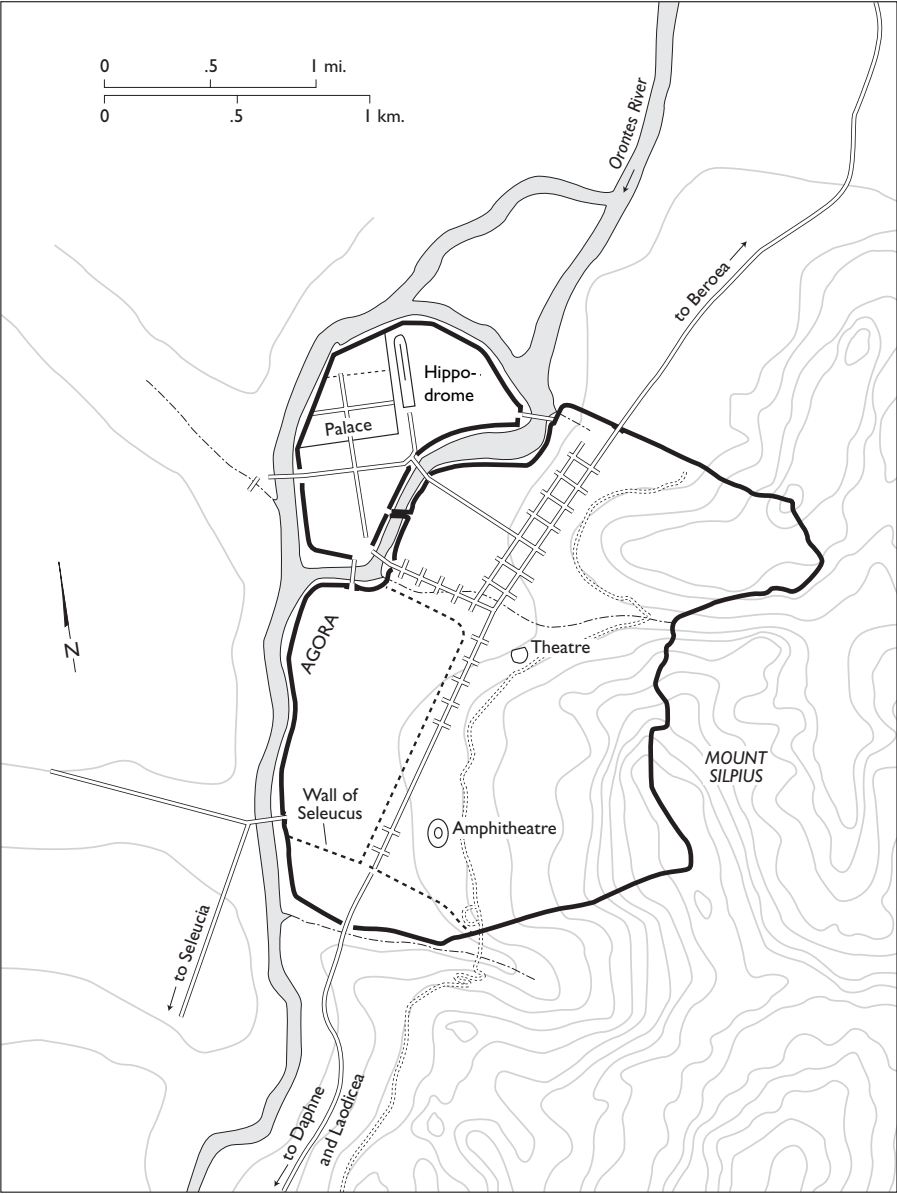
If Hermopolis was a significant provincial center, Antioch-on-the-Orontes, to which Theophanes was steadily making his way along those fine Roman roads, was an imperial capital and, leaving aside Rome itself with its million inhabitants, one of the two or three largest cities in the Roman empire.³⁵ With an estimated population upward of three hundred thousand people, Antioch was matched only by Alexandria and Carthage, and like them Antioch was monumental and elegant, with every amenity on a grand scale—squares and colonnaded streets, forum, council house and basilica, temples, aqueducts and fountains, public and private baths, granaries and markets, theater and amphitheater, and ceremonial statues and inscriptions everywhere to be seen. Much of this, and in particular much of the organization of the city, had been provided in the period of Roman rule, but in his festival speech in praise of Antioch, the *Antiochikos* (*Oratio* 11), the later fourth-century orator Libanius portrayed it as a Greek city, a creation of Alexander the Great and his successors.³⁶ Indeed, Libanius ended the historical survey of Antioch that he included in his speech with the fall of the Seleucid kingdom to Rome. As for what followed—Roman Antioch—this was all around and needed no description; there it was for the eye to see! The Romans are brought in by Libanius only to proclaim the superiority of Antioch over their cities and of Greek culture over their own. Having seen the lovely suburb of Daphne, its temples, trees, and gardens, they will abandon their praises of Italy. Even Rome herself is outshone by Antioch's possession of Greek culture and eloquence.

It is a nicely drawn picture, but incomplete, for Libanius also recognized the reason for the Roman emperors' interest in the city. It was a strategic location, close to the eastern frontier of the empire. Since the later second century and especially during the third, it was the place

34. The draftsman seems here to have lost track of what he was trying to show. Tarsus is shown relatively too far to the north and is not connected with the road system through the Taurus.

35. For the following sketch I have drawn on my *Roman Empire of Ammianus*, pp. 71–74. The fullest general account is by Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria, from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (1961). See below, chapter 7, for further discussion of the economic organization of the city.

36. A French translation of the relevant passages of the *Antiochikos*, with archaeological commentary, is given by R. Martin, in A. J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne: Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie* (1959), pp. 23–61.



Map 3. Plan of fourth-century Antioch. Drawn by Bill Nelson.

from which Persian campaigns were organized and resistance to Persian attacks coordinated. Once, in the mid-third century, it had even, on a famous occasion, fallen for a time into the hands of the Persian king, Sapor I. The Roman emperors were frequent visitors and sometimes resided there for extended periods. The Tetrarchic palace of the late third century rose on the foundations of an unfinished earlier project; laid out with promenades and pleasure gardens, exercise grounds, and a Hippodrome for chariot racing, it stood on an island in the Orontes river, forming a sort of royal precinct where the emperors resided while they prepared their wars. At such times, Antioch was the city described by Libanius, who otherwise makes it clear he did not like it this way, as clamorous and bustling, thronged with men under arms and animals for war and transport, “glinting with arms and raucous with the blare of trumpets”—the sort of thing that usually gave him a headache!³⁷ Even when the emperor was not there in person, the civil and military officers of the eastern provinces—the *comes* or *vicarius Orientis*, to whose bureau we have seen that Theophanes was making his journey, as well as the provincial governor of Syria and the regional military commanders—had their residences and office staffs at Antioch. In his loyalty to its Greek tradition, Libanius expressed an ancient cultural tradition, and one with centuries of history still to come; but fourth-century Antioch was a far more complex place than he allowed to appear in the *Antiochikos*. It was a multicultural city, to which Roman government and administration, and the Latin language, were making a distinct and increasingly important contribution. Theophanes went there, not because it was a center of Greek culture, but because it was the capital city of the eastern provinces, a seat of imperial power where justice was done and agreements negotiated. Nevertheless, one who had attended the theater and odeion at Ascalon and dedicated a silver statue of the emperor would find there much that was congenial and many ways to spend his leisure. Such things hardly ever show in the memoranda of Theophanes’ journey, but we must think of them as we imagine how he may have spent his time at Antioch when not occupied by the professional obligations of his visit.³⁸

The economic ebullience of Antioch transcended the city itself, and much of the material evidence for it comes from the splendid villas built by its elite in the surrounding area. In one of these, a late Roman villa at the village of Yakto, near the residential resort of Daphne, was found a fine mosaic of the mid-fifth century showing hunting scenes from Greek mythology arranged around a portrait bust of the goddess Megalopsychia.³⁹ This symbolic personage,

37. For the contrasting images, compare *Antiochikos* 178 with the autobiographical *Or.* 1.144.

38. An exception, if the reading is correct, may be the reference to the payment of 1 tal. for *eusebeia* (sc. religious observance) on Pauni 30; see the translation below. In the same month Theophanes went several times to the baths. A papyrus from the archive, *P.Ryl.* 641.17, 22, records expenditures on mime dancers and acrobats, but unfortunately it does not seem to be connected with the journey to Antioch.

39. Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (1947), vol. I, pp. 323–45, and vol. II, plates LXXV–LXXX (topographical border at LXXIX–LXXX); Downey, *A History of Antioch*, Excursus 18, pp. 659–64. Colored illustrations and descriptions of selected scenes can be found in the fine exhibition catalogue edited by

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Fig. 4.4. The image of Megalopsychia. Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton, 1947).

the Greek prototype of the Latin *magnanimitas*, signifies that tradition of public-spirited generosity that characterized the urban aristocracies of the Roman empire in their social conduct and in their relations with their cities. Megalopsychia demonstrates this virtue of munificence, in the coin which she has taken from a bag held in her left arm and displays in her right hand for distribution—indeed, in an image familiar also of imperial largesse, some coins are shown leaping out of her hand in their eagerness to be distributed!⁴⁰ A distinctive

Christine Kondoleon, *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City* (2001), pp. 8 (a view of the whole mosaic, which shows how it has suffered in being raised and reassembled in sections) and 114–15, and in Fatih Cimok (ed.), *Antioch Mosaics* (Istanbul, 1995 and 1999), p. 57.

40. See the image of the emperor Constantius in the Calendar of the Year 354; Michele Renee Salzman, *On Roman Time: the Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (1990), fig. 13. The meaning of Megalopsychia's gesture is clear even from the small colored image in Kondoleon, *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, p. 8.

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Fig. 4.5. The Megalopsychia mosaic with topographical border. Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton, 1947).

feature of the mosaic, its pictorial border showing scenes of city life, may be intended to illustrate this tradition of civic involvement, connecting the city's economic vigor with the aristocratic generosity that helped sustain it. Like the central mosaic, it too is a vehicle of social ideology.

The mosaic offers more opportunities than this, however, for study of the border suggests that the scenes are not just generic pictures of urban life but represent a visual record of Antioch and its suburb of Daphne. Specifically, it shows an imagined journey from one to the other. In his discussion of the mosaic border, Doro Levi questioned whether it need refer to any place outside Daphne, but these doubts were allayed by Glanville Downey's citation of paragraphs of Libanius's *Antiochikos* in which just such a journey from Antioch to Daphne is

described.⁴¹ The topographical mosaic is a visual counterpart to Libanius's literary description. Both are in their different ways rhetorical exercises, which may be said without questioning their value to the historian of fourth-century Antioch.

The following scene-by-scene realization of the topographical border will help us to imagine the city to which Theophanes was making his journey. The mosaic is later than Theophanes' time and does show anachronisms, above all in the fact that it portrays a Christian city (or at any rate a city containing Christian institutions), but these are not significant in relation to the many elements in city life that were unchanged. Differences of opinion as to how the mosaic is to be read concern little more than the direction in which the journey is to be followed. This is an arbitrary distinction, since the border can of course be read one way or the other, and the reading begun at any point chosen by the viewer; one may see it as a journey from Antioch to Daphne or vice versa, or in either direction along any part of the route. The sequence is most easily followed, however, if one imagines oneself as entering the room in the center of the southeastern side (directly facing the image of Megalopsychia), then starting in the near left-hand corner and following the scenes from left to right, proceeding round the room back to the starting point.

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Figs. 4.6–4.17. The topographical border: street scenes at Antioch and Daphne. Drawn by Tina Re.

4.6. Scene 1. We begin with the gates of the city, shown as a pair of massive columns, of which the one on the left displays a large cross, anachronistic for the time of Theophanes. Inside the city, we see a man on foot leading into its streets a woman riding sidesaddle. Since we have yet to reach the bridge onto the island on the Orontes river (Scene 3 below), the gate must be imagined as the north gate receiving the road to Antioch from the direction of Beroea and Hierapolis.

41. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, p. 326; Downey, Excursus 18, at p. 662. Note the incomplete inscription on the mosaic, “. . . RIANA” (below, Scene 4), which surely refers to the Porta Tauriana on the Orontes island at Antioch; Downey, Excursus 18, pp. 619–20. The Libanius reference is to *Or.* 11.196–245.

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4.7. Scene 2. Two men, one on foot and one mounted, pass buildings, of which little can be determined except that one has windows on the upper floor, the other a colonnaded facade. After a house with a single door and steps, a bare-legged man, presumably a slave, carries a basket in his left hand while his right hand balances a load on his head. We next come to a building with a balcony on the second floor, with rails between columns; before it a man reclines at ease, while being served a drink by an attendant. The inscription over the picture is too fragmentary to be intelligible (“the house of Antoninus?”); the scene is apparently a tavern with outdoor patio.

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4.8. Scene 3. A man comes by carrying a rolled object, perhaps a carpet. After a large two-storied building with columns appears a bridge with water flowing beneath. We have come to the island on the Orontes, a monumental center of Antioch. A woman and child are about to cross the bridge; the child has emblems (*segmenta*) on his tunic denoting social rank. To their right is another building with a man standing in the doorway making a gesture, possibly waving goodbye (to his wife and child?). He wears tunic and chlamys, also with embroidered or sewn decorations.

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4.9. Scene 4. We have reached the central part of the southwestern side of the mosaic and find a practice track or bridle path with a man riding along it. The landscape is rural—the track is surrounded not by seats and an audience but by bushes—and must form part of a pleasure garden or park. If the next building is rightly understood as the palace, which stood on the Orontes island, the bridle path may form part of the imperial gardens. The incomplete inscription “. . . RIANA” probably refers to the Porta Tauriana, which is known to have stood on the island; it was built in 386. Neither this nor the next building, which is identified as the octagonal Great Church built under Constantine, was standing at the time of Theophanes’ visit, though the latter may have been at the time of the pilgrim of Bordeaux. Beyond the church stands a praying figure.

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4.10. Scene 5. A man drives along tethered pack animals with a stick. The house behind the man has interesting details, with a molded door frame and hinged window open above it. The group is about to pass a flight of steps on its left, and before them is another bridge; this will lead from the Orontes island back to the eastern part of the city. The section of the border that showed this sequence is completely lost, with the entire northwestern edge of the mosaic.

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4.11. Scene 6. The interrupted journey resumes with part of what appears to be a wagon loaded with a column or large beam and behind this a building with an entrance framed by two columns. The tiles of the next building, shown at two different angles, may represent a flat-roofed porch with a pitched roof behind. From the right comes a man on foot, possibly a street vendor with his goods slung from the stick over his shoulder. With a bit of imagination we may see his gesture as accompanied by a street cry advertising his wares. A single column and a high window of the next building are visible before damage to the mosaic, which makes it possible to see only a horseman and, some distance to the right, a man on foot (not shown).

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4.12. Scene 7. A colonnade leads into, or forms part of, a square with three statues on pedestals, two wearing formal long cloaks and carrying staffs or scepters, the third, shown higher than the others, a military figure wearing a short tunic and cloak, his right hand resting on a spear, his left apparently raised in a gesture of address. Beyond the statues two men play dice; one throws the dice, the other holds up his fingers to mark the count. They sit on folding stools before a large building that, like one seen before (Scene 2), has a balcony with columns on the second floor.

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4.13. Scene 8. A woman stands at the top of two steps leading to the door of her house. Then come three groups of street salesmen. The first consists of two men, each tending some sort of stand, possibly a brazier, the next is another group of two, of whom the left-hand figure holds an object on a table with his left hand and is about to strike or cut it with an implement held in his right hand. Perhaps they are butchers at their stall. The third scene shows another stall holder offering merchandise. The objects for sale have an elongated shape; perhaps they are meant to be fishes. We seem to have passed through a market area, possibly on the outskirts of Antioch, if the tree in the next picture (Scene 9) represents the country between Antioch and Daphne. We now turn the eastern corner of the mosaic.

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4.14. Scene 9. These three substantial buildings are usually taken to be private villas standing by the road to Daphne, owned by the men whose names appear over them: Maiorinos, Heliades, Leontios. This may be so, but it is also possible that they are trading establishments. The man and boy between the first two structures tell us nothing except that their clothes too carry *segmenta* denoting social rank. There then comes a man holding objects that could be loaves of bread, seemingly approaching the customer from the bathhouse that comes next (Scene 10). If so, “the place of Leontios” behind him might be a private bakery.

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4.15. Scene 10. The next building after Leontius's establishment (repeated here), marked "DEMOSI(O)N," is a public bathhouse. It is a splendid building, with pediment, columns, and two doors. The person standing before the bathhouse seems from his clothing to be a customer rather than the bath attendant, and in the left-hand doorway can be seen some sort of screen or swinging door. We come next to another tradesman with his wares on a table, and then to the "PERIPATOS," a covered colonnade in which two men resembling those seen before (Scene 7), like them seated on folding stools and gesturing to show the progress of their game, are playing dice.

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4.16. Scene 11. We pass the "workshop of the martyrion," probably that of St. Babylas which stood at Daphne (not, yet, in the time of Theophanes). Before it an attendant named Chalkomas pours wine for "Markellos," either a customer or his master. Given the inappropriateness of the scene for its advertised background, perhaps it should be connected with the dice players in the Peripatos. After Marcellus's dog are a man and two women, one of them apparently an older woman with head covered, shown in conversation. Next, the "OLYMPIAKON," or Olympic stadium, and in the foreground a small boy carrying a basket. He may be connected with the figures before him, one riding a horse, the other a second man on foot (Scene 12), who is looking back at the horseman.

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4.17. Scene 12. We now see “the private establishment of Ardabourios,” not the private house but a bathhouse belonging to or provided by Ardaburius, apparently the fifth-century dynast of the name. Beyond the bathhouse, a figure approaches with a basket in his left hand and a large object of some sort under his right arm. No doubt it is too much to see him as a customer coming to the baths with the bathrobe, *nitron*, and other equipment often mentioned in the dossier of Theophanes. At the end of the journey as we have traced it, we reach the famous springs that gave Daphne its reputation. They are shown in two scenes labeled “KASTALIA” and “PALLAS.” Kastalia is an elegant nymphaeum surrounded by a semicircular portico with trees in the background representing a grove; this is identified with the *theatridion* built by Hadrian in the early second century. Pallas is an abundant stream of water flowing into an artificial basin, or *piscina*. Above the basin and to the left of the stream of water is a water goddess, and there is a swimmer (a water-nymph?) in the basin.

5 At Antioch

AFTER TAKING OVER A MONTH to reach Antioch, Theophanes spent two and a half months there, in pursuit of what was evidently complicated and protracted business. A long but fragmentary papyrus, *P.Ryl.* 639, preserves a record of expenditures for the major part of a month Pachon, which, I shall argue below, are almost certainly draft accounts for Theophanes' stay in Antioch during the first period after his arrival. Despite its fragmentary state, the papyrus supports the better-preserved material for the following months and contributes to our understanding of Theophanes' pattern of life during the first part of his stay at Antioch.

The records for the following month of Pauni, by contrast, survive almost complete, on a single piece of papyrus recording Theophanes' expenditures for himself and his party and associates for every day of the month (*P.Ryl.* 629). The first few days of the next month, Epeiph, are absent from the accounts, which resume on Epeiph 9 and continue for the remainder of Theophanes' stay at Antioch and his journey home (*P.Ryl.* 630*). Theophanes' departure from Antioch was on the afternoon of Epeiph 26, for on that day he listed expenditure on dinner and the baths at Kata Hydata, just fourteen miles out of Antioch. On Epeiph 25, he had recorded the last of several purchases of clean papyrus, and a payment to a stenographer "on account of the agreement." It looks as if he was finishing off his business before leaving Antioch the following afternoon for the short journey by way of Daphne to Kata Hydata, where he stayed the night.

These daily records of personal expenditure in a single city over a period of two and a half months are unique among the thousands of papyrus documents in our possession. To give an impression of their character before translating the texts, I will sketch Theophanes' pattern of life at Antioch using mainly the material from Pauni, for which the records are almost intact;

as we saw, there is a gap at the beginning of Epeiph, but when the accounts resume they follow the same pattern as what has preceded.

Theophanes' accounting practice was to divide the Egyptian month of thirty days into six periods of five days with daily and periodic subtotals, the grand total being entered at the end of the month. The only exceptions to this practice are at the very beginning and end of his stay. The fragmentary records for Pachon begin on the 10th of the month, with a summary of expenditure to the 9th and a periodic total for the six days Pachon 10–15, with five-day totals thereafter; and the last three days of his journey, Mesorē 21–23, have no periodic total for the minimal expenditures incurred but give a total for the entire month to Mesorē 23.¹ As one might expect given the method of notation, in which Greek letters signify numbers, the additions, both daily and periodic, are sometimes incorrect. On occasions they have been corrected by the secretary who kept them, but others escaped his notice and still stand in the accounts.

The accounts typically cover between nine and eighteen items bought per day. The great majority were items of food. Every day Theophanes bought loaves of bread—in two qualities, refined and plain or common, respectively, for himself and his guests and for the slave attendants in the party—and vegetables; gourds, cucumbers, lettuces, vegetables or pot-herbs, leeks, and other varieties.² He regularly bought eggs, olives, olive oil in different qualities, pickled and fresh fish, cheese. Wine, which is often measured in the unit known as the *kabos*, the biblical *qab*, was purchased for consumption every day, taken with meals and for enjoyment and as a part of the customary morning meal of bread dipped in unmixed wine. Theophanes also bought the herb-flavored wine known as *absinthion*, or vermouth, taken then as now as an aperitif,³ and wine vinegar, used not only in the kitchen but (in heavy dilution) as a common drink for slaves. Nearly every day he bought firewood for cooking; this is sometimes also specified in the entry for an item of food, for example, “gourds for cooking.” The regular purchase of firewood and the inference that Theophanes' party normally cooked its own food characterize the period of residence at Antioch by contrast with its pattern of life while traveling. The purchases of firewood become less frequent upon Theophanes' departure from Antioch, when he would sometimes find cooked food in the way stations in which he lodged for the night.⁴

1. Roberts, at p. 147, note on *P. Ryl.* 630* lines 304f., refers to a draft section in which the accounts were drawn up over a seven-day period, but this is not Theophanes' usage in any fair copy.

2. What follows is a summary only; for fuller discussion, see below, chapters 7 and 8 with appendix

3. Of particular value is the article of J. Kalleris referred to above, “‘Trophai kai Pota.’”

3. The word *vermouth* is the German *wermut* (A.-S. *wermōd*) for the wormwood plant (*artemisia absinthium*). It is described by Webster's *New International Dictionary of the English Language*, 2nd ed. of 1940, as “a white wine highly flavoured with aromatic herbs and sometimes sweetened”; cf. Andrew Dalby, *Food in the Ancient World, from A to Z* (2003), p. 361. It has little or no connection with the toxic potion known to French artists (and others) as absinthe.

4. The regular appearance of firewood in the accounts for Pachon is a strong argument, among others, for regarding them as part of Theophanes' travel memoranda; see the introduction to *P. Ryl.* 639 below.

Theophanes bought fruit frequently, according to taste, no doubt, and also what was in season. From the beginning of his stay in Pachon he purchased figs (both dried and fresh) as well as nuts. He bought apricots and plums (*armenia* and *damaskenoi*) when they began to appear in Antioch in the middle of Pauni (plums were a speciality of the region, the word deriving, in Greek as in the English “damson,” from the name of Damascus); that these fruits are not mentioned in the accounts for Pachon might be because of the fragmentary nature of the record or simply because they were not yet in season. The party also bought melons, apples, and peaches, the last of which begin to appear as the early-ripening apricots disappear from the accounts. Once they came into season and were readily available, grapes were purchased regularly, from the time they ripened in Epeiph (towards mid-July) until the accounts end with Theophanes’ return to Egypt.⁵ He varied his diet with the fresh and pickled fish just mentioned as well as considerable quantities of meat, and seasoned it with *garum*, or fish sauce, salt, syrup, and sweet wine, and spices such as coriander and cumin; and rarer ingredients such as honey and, on just one occasion, garlic.

The prominence of meat in Theophanes’ diet is worth emphasis. He bought it on six days of Pauni (and three in the extant records for Pachon) and in quite large quantities—on Pauni 2nd, four pounds; on the 3rd, nine pounds “for salting”; on the 12th, four pounds, again for salting; on the 19th, six pounds; on the 23rd, three pounds; and on the 26th, eight pounds for salting.⁶ Despite the relative infrequency of Theophanes’ meat purchases compared with some other items, it is likely he consumed some meat nearly every day, a pattern of consumption made possible by salting.⁷ As needed for the table, a piece of the larger cut would be soaked in water to remove the salt before it was seasoned and cooked. On four occasions in Pauni, including one on which he also bought meat, Theophanes supplemented this with *loukanika*, smoked sausages. A similar dish is twice referred to in Pachon by a different word, *eissikia* for the Latin *isicia*, chopped meat made into meatballs (something like rissoles or *quenelles*). On two occasions in the records for Pachon and also in Epeiph, Theophanes bought trotters, twice described as cooked or boiled, once also with the head of the animal.⁸ On the very rare occasions (only one of each) on which the type of meat is named, it is pork or goat, but I

5. The first certain reference to grapes comes on Epeiph 18 (= July 12) (*P. Ryl.* 630.100). It is impossible to say whether they may have occurred earlier in Epeiph, but they do not appear in the almost complete records for Pauni.

6. For Pachon, *P. Ryl.* 639 lines 57 (Pachon 18; no quantity or price extant), 200 (Pachon 26; 2 lbs for 1,000+ dr.), 219 (Pachon 27/29; 2 lbs for 600 dr.), with *isicia*, or meatballs (see below), on a further two days and boiled trotters on two more. See appendix 3.

7. This procedure is distinct from using salt as a means of seasoning; this was achieved by adding fish sauce, or *garum*; see chapter 8 below.

8. *P. Ryl.* 639 lines 115, 178, cf. 630* lines 303, 323. *Onychiōn* (gen. pl., as in the accounts) are claws or trotters. Both can be readily found on supermarket shelves; heads more seldom, but when I was a child my father would sometimes bring home half a sheep’s or pig’s head. He would claim it was the best part of the animal, a claim we respected but did not really believe.

would guess too that the boiled trotters were a pig's, as they appear in a mosaic from Antioch illustrated in chapter 8 below.

Theophanes sometimes specified the meal, often shared with others, colleagues and collaborators in his enterprise, for which items were bought. The meal is sometimes called *deipnon*, in which case it is an evening meal; when it is called *ariston*, what is meant is a midday meal derived from the migration to a time later in the day of an original breakfast—exactly like the French word *déjeuner*, or “un-fast,” which is now used for lunch, with *petit déjeuner* replacing it for the first meal of the day.⁹

It would be premature to describe the diet of Theophanes and his party more closely at this point, for several reasons. The accounts give the prices but usually not the quantities of the items purchased; we do not know how the plainer and the more elaborate foodstuffs were distributed among the various social levels in his party; and it is not always easy to tell which of Theophanes' guests were strictly members of the party and which were more broadly associated with it as assistants and collaborators, or how the party may have varied in size from time to time. These questions will be pursued in chapters 7 and 8 below. However, that there was a distinction between social levels is at once apparent from the fact that the slaves were given a plainer quality of bread than those of higher status. We would not expect such a distinction to stop with the quality of the bread, but there is no reason to imagine that the slaves were undernourished; one did not expect them to undertake the labor of a journey from Egypt to Antioch and back on empty stomachs. In general, the lists show us a varied and enjoyable diet; enough bread with vegetables and fruit, oil, eggs, nuts, figs, fish, cheese, condiments and delicacies, and quite striking quantities of meat and its derivative products.

There is a change in the pattern of expenditure during the first few days of Pauni, when the sums of money spent on many staples, such as bread, oil, meat, and wine, fall markedly. Between Pauni 3 and 11, Theophanes' expenditure drops, in some cases, to half its former level. After this point until the end of the month it stays about the same, while an apparent decline in Epeiph may be due to the less well preserved state of the records for that month. The explanation of the change in Pauni cannot just be that the party was adapting to experience and buying less than it had originally thought necessary, since the beginning of Pauni was not

9. This migration of *ariston* to midday generates a problem in English translation, which I have pragmatically but unsatisfactorily solved by calling it lunch. The nomenclature of meals, in modern as in ancient languages, is variable, according to region and social class, and it changes over time; compare the Webster's *Dictionary* definition of dinner: “The principal meal of the day, eaten by most people about midday, but by many (esp. in cities) between six and eight P.M.” I myself did not encounter dinner as an evening meal until I left my provincial origins for university, where the set midday meal was for some reason called lunch, which I had thought of as a packed meal for a picnic. This was etymologically correct, since the word *lunch* derives from a dialect word for a piece or chunk of food. In Greek, the original *ariston* was replaced by *akratisma*, so called because it involved dipping bread into unmixed wine. *Deipnon*, originally a midday meal, migrated to the evening. See Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 1.11b–f (ed. Loeb, I, pp. 48–51)—the source of most standard lexikon articles.

in fact the first part of Theophanes' stay. On the contrary, the preceding accounts for Pachon show some still higher levels of expenditure. On Pachon 15, for instance, Theophanes spent 1,000, and on Pachon 22 1,200 dr. on common bread "for the boys," in each case showing large numbers of slaves to be fed—clearly not all belonging to Theophanes' own staff. A similar level of expenditure recurs on Pachon 24 and 25, when we find 600 dr. spent on common loaves for the "young men" of the *officialis*, 400 dr. on the slave attendants of one Apollon, and possibly 600 dr. on a midday meal with the *officiales* themselves.¹⁰

The explanation for the decline in expenditure must be a reduction in the number of people to be entertained. This might be either because groups that had been accustomed to eat together began for some reason to eat separately, or because of the departure of some of the people who had initially accompanied Theophanes to Antioch or who attended him there in the earlier period. In either case, the decreased consumption of both fine and common bread shows that the reduction in the size of the party was a reduction in the number of both free men and slave attendants.

The accounts list many expenditures other than on food. Theophanes went to the baths five times in the thirty days of Pauni (twice in the extant records for Pachon), on three occasions with "Antoninus and his friends"; for such occasions he bought foam of nitre and soap, which are among his higher costs. On five days in Pauni he had a midday meal with this Antoninus, who was presumably a working colleague at Antioch—he shows up in the memoranda after Theophanes' arrival and has disappeared from them by the time of his departure from the city. These were both business and social occasions. The baths, of which Antioch, like any large city, had many, both public and private, were a place of relaxation where Theophanes and Antoninus could take exercise, then sit around and discuss business.

Among his miscellaneous expenses, Theophanes bought new shoes and a pair of slippers for the bath, and twice toward the end of Pauni records payments to the fuller for the cleaning of a cloak; also, unless this entry is from a different part of the accounts, a sponge—more precisely, "another sponge"—from the physician. Since the same group of entries, for the only time in the accounts, mentions fine meal, which in solution can be an effective remedy for an unsettled stomach, one wonders whether one of Theophanes' party suffered at some point from a digestive disorder.¹¹ Among the earliest expenditures in Pachon were sums of money for a word to be transliterated as the Latin word *vestes*, clothing, and for two of the items of dress known as *sticharia*. Apparently the group had arrived at Antioch without enough of these items. On two occasions, also in Pachon, Theophanes sent some broken crockery to be repaired, and on Pauni 11 he bought some wooden bowls.

10. The price of refined bread in Pachon, at 100 dr. per loaf, was the same as that in Pauni, so there is no reason to suppose higher prices for common bread than are found later. The figures for Pachon 15 and 22 are the highest found anywhere in the accounts for the purchase of common bread.

11. *P.Ryl.* 629.2–5, though the connection of the entries with the month Pauni is uncertain.

These are rather humdrum matters, but given what we know about Theophanes' profession as a *scholasticus*, one group of purchases is of special interest. Four times in Pauni and twice in Epeiph, Theophanes bought papyrus, consisting of two, three, four, and on one occasion seven sheets glued together to form a roll. These acquisitions presumably had to do with the work for which he had come to Antioch, and it must be significant that the largest of them, on Epeiph 17, comes near the end of the stay; there was evidently a lot to write up. It is one of the frustrating things about the memoranda that none of these rolls survives with the day's work written on it, so that we would know for certain why he had made the journey.

The accounts give some idea of the composition of Theophanes' party and the roles of its members. It comprised men of higher status, whether slave or free, and, as can be seen from the common bread provided for them every day, a relatively large number of slave followers. Apart from Theophanes himself and the secretary (or secretaries) who kept the accounts, the persons of high status belonging to the party or connected with it were Eulogius and Eudaimon. Another possible associate of the party, Hermodorus, makes his first appearance in the record of the journey home to Egypt and is discussed below.

Eulogius was undoubtedly a person of higher status, but it is not easy to say just what his connection was. Having appeared providing large sums of cash to Theophanes on the outward journey, he disappears from the accounts for a time after Pauni 8, when Theophanes allowed 200 dr. for the purchase of *loukanika* for a midday meal with him. It may not just be a detail of expression that the accounts refer to this occasion with the expression "for lunch to Eulogius,"¹² suggesting that Theophanes went to Eulogius's place for his meal rather than inviting him to his own table. Eulogius reappears among Theophanes' fellow travelers on the journey home—again, with every appearance of being an independent figure, for he is sometimes described as having his own party of companions. Eulogius's first appearance on the homeward journey is on Epeiph 26 at Kata Hydata, which probably means that he left Antioch at the same time as Theophanes. He is apparently an associate of Theophanes, without being a member of his party or household.

Eudaimon appears in a variety of contexts in the earlier stages of Theophanes' enterprise; in the month Phamenoth before the journey proper began, and then in Babylon, Caesarea, and Laodicea. He is generally found handling or receiving cash, perhaps indicating that he had some sort of role as the party's treasurer. Eudaimon is among those who seem to have remained behind at Laodicea while Theophanes made his rapid advance to Antioch on Pachon 7 (see chapter 3) and is likely to have been a member of Theophanes' party in the narrower sense rather than an independent colleague or associate. He next shows up as the recipient of 100 dr. for the purchase of beet (perhaps for medicinal purposes) on Pachon 21,¹³ and on Pauni 3

12. *eis ariston pros Eulogion* (*pros* is a word of motion, and the entry does not say "*meta*" for "*with* Eulogius").

13. See below, chapter 8, p. 169.

of 400 dr. for some unknown purpose. He is the subject of a substantial but deleted reference to Pauni 13 in *P. Ryl.* 639, after which he makes no further appearance.¹⁴

Another member of the party, the appropriately named Hermes, seems to have been Theophanes' messenger in Antioch and is mentioned at all points, from Pachon 3 through Pauni and Epeiph to Mesore 17; indeed, he appears in the memoranda in the period before Theophanes' journey began, as "Hermes the messenger," and he is also found in Theophanes' family papers.¹⁵ Hermes ran a broad range of errands for Theophanes, from procuring wine and buying firewood to paying fees for the eventual agreement; he is obviously a member of Theophanes' household, probably a trusted slave. Another slave of higher status to be named is Horos. He too serves as a messenger during the early part of the stay, although Theophanes' purchase of boots for him on Pharmouthi 7 already indicates his dependent status. He is on one occasion called "Horos son of Bellos," which may distinguish him from other slaves called Horos (a common name in Egypt). If he was indeed a slave, then the use of a patronymic could also indicate that he was a *vernula*, born to slave parents in Theophanes' household. Horos disappears from the records for a time after Pauni 10, but he reappears later, and it is unlikely that his absence from the record means his absence from Theophanes' company.¹⁶ Finally, we saw in the letter from Theophanes to Anysius translated in chapter 2 a reference to a *phrontistēs*, or household manager, Silvanus. This could be the man who was responsible for the payment of a large sum of money, more than three talents, for some unknown purpose on Pachon 25, and in culinary transactions on Pauni 19 and 20. Silvanus appears, with his title *phrontistēs*, in the domestic memoranda from Theophanes' archive, in one case in the same list as Hermes.¹⁷

I discuss the composition of Theophanes' party in its social context in chapter 8, but for the moment it is enough to observe that here, as in Roman households in general, an important distinction to be made is not simply that between slave and free, but between different levels of skill and the tasks assigned to those who possessed them. The slave boys, *paidia* in Theophanes' memoranda, are the unnamed workers who performed the fetching and carrying, the packing and loading, the cleaning up, and all the other humble tasks that fell to the lot of household slaves. These, the collective recipients of the common bread bought for them daily, are to be distinguished from the slaves and freedmen of higher status—trusted agents like Hermes and

14. *P. Ryl.* 639.125–26; "[[Pauni 15, to Eudaimon, to hand, *n* tal., 2,000 dr.]]" The entry does not appear in the fair copy of the accounts for Pauni translated below, and its status is unclear. The entry for Pauni 3 occurs in a group of lines in *P. Ryl.* 629 overlooked by Roberts; see the translation below and appendix 3.

15. *P. Ryl.* 627.99, "Hermes the *dromeus*" (cf. below, n. 17). The term is equivalent to the Latin *cursor*, well attested in the slave *familia*; below, chapter 8.

16. Eudaimon, Hermes, and Horos all appear in Theophanes' traveling party at Laodicea (see above). Herakleon, who appears at the end of *P. Ryl.* 627, seems to be an outsider not connected with it.

17. *P. Ryl.* 641.32—a wine account (Hermes at line 25); 642, fr. i.7 and fr. ii.6 (with the title *phrontistēs*)—a building account.

Horus, Eudaimon and Silvanus—who are named in the accounts and can be seen performing responsible duties. Only at the end of the memoranda is it possible that we may encounter any of the humbler slaves by name, when Theophanes accounts for bread bought on his behalf by Piōx and Aōros.¹⁸ Both are Egyptian names; it is impossible to be sure whether they were Theophanes' slaves or members of the crew of the riverboat on which he was then traveling, whom he sent ashore to buy bread, but the first alternative is at least possible.

One more note of explanation is needed before we move on to the actual accounts for Theophanes' period of residence at Antioch. Readers of the memoranda translated in chapter 3 may already have wondered at the way costs and prices are expressed in drachmas and talents (6,000 dr. to the talent)—just as if we were back in the days of Classical Greece or Ptolemaic Alexandria rather than the fourth-century Roman empire. We can translate the system into Roman terms by saying that the drachma was counted at four to the denarius (also known as the *denarius communis* or *d.c.*); that is to say, the denarius was equivalent to the Hellenistic four-drachma piece, or tetradrachm, and one talent was the equivalent of 1,500 denarii.

This explanation does not get us very far, for the simple reason that by the early fourth century none of these denominations, Greek or Roman, was in circulation. In fact, none had been minted for a very long time—there were no contemporary drachmas or tetradrachms, nor were there actual minted *denarii communes* (let alone *asses* or *sestertii*). All were “ghost currencies,” used for accounting purposes. They helped to maintain a coherent understanding of values and prices in times of high inflation, when the value of the actual physical coinage changed so fast that it could not be used to measure anything else for more than short periods. We have to grasp the notion that in the ancient economy, the coinage itself functioned as a commodity, holding or losing its value depending on the quality of its metallic content and, if this was deficient in weight or purity, on the government's success in enforcing its acceptance at the officially tariffed level. These efforts were only partly successful, and the solution adopted was to set prices by the notional drachmas, talents, and denarii just mentioned, leaving economic circumstances to determine the actual coin into which the prices were translated.

The most likely coin in which Theophanes' cash transactions were performed was the so-called *nummus* of Licinius, a nice-looking piece showing a radiate imperial portrait on the obverse and, on the reverse, an image of Jupiter Conservator—the very symbol, indeed, of conservatism and stability.¹⁹ The reverse also carries a mark setting the value of the *nummus* at 12.5 denarii. This in turn yields an exchange rate of 576 nummi to the gold *aureus*, minted at this time at the rate of 60 coins to the pound of gold bullion.

On the principle just explained, the valuation of the Licinian *nummus* at 12.5 denarii is

18. *P.Ryl.* 630*.533, 551.

19. Kenneth W. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy, 300 B.C. to A.D. 700* (1996), p. 165 and plates, fig. 179; *RIC* 7, pp. 12, with, for the mints, 607–08 (Nicomedia), 645–46 (Cyzicus), 681–82 (Antioch), 707–08 (Alexandria). My summary overlooks many debated details in order to get to the essentials.

equivalent to 50 drachmas. Now 50 dr. is the lowest sum paid by Theophanes for any commodity in the memoranda, for the food item known as *kemia* on Epeiph 19 and 23. The majority of his purchases are in the low hundreds of drachmas; a regular purchase of green vegetables or pot-herbs at 100 dr., for instance, would cost two Licinian nummi, as would a single loaf of refined bread; a day's supply of firewood at 200 dr. would cost 4 nummi, a quantity of wine or olive oil at, say, 700 dr., would cost 14 nummi, while the 2,800 dr.²⁰ paid on Pauni 3 for nine pounds of meat for salting would require 56 nummi.

Let us take one further step. At a nominal exchange rate of 576 Licinian nummi to the aureus, the value of a single gold coin would work out at 28,800 ($576 \times 12.5 \times 4$) drachmas, that is, just under 5 talents. To reverse the equation, the total of Theophanes' expenditure for the month of Pauni, given as 18 tal., 4,400 dr. (altogether 112,400 dr.), comes out at a sum fractionally over 4 aurei; while the day's expenditure of 4 tal., 4,100 dr. (28,100 dr.) recorded for Pachon 25 would be very close to a single aureus. The discrepancy between the aureus and the nummus, in terms of the sheer numbers of coins involved in the exchange, is extreme. Even at this face value of the aureus, which it is likely was in practice exchanged at a higher level, the equivalent in Licinian nummi of the expenditure for Pauni comes out at 2,248 for the month, or an average of 75 coins per day. It makes for a bulging purse to carry to market.²¹

Even this was, however, a great improvement on the preceding period, for it has to be said that things got much worse later. Fourth-century monetary history is marked by relatively stable values in the gold (and silver) currency, with high levels of inflation in the everyday coin into which the precious metal coin was exchanged. Not so long after Theophanes' time, the exchange rate of the precious metal and the everyday coinage in common use had become so inflated that the latter was reckoned neither individually nor even in tens or hundreds, but in marked bags of coin—the so-called *follis* containing thousands of individually worthless coins.²²

The translations of the memoranda relating to Theophanes' time at Antioch follow the chronological order of the three main texts in which they are preserved: (1) *P.Ryl.* 639, the much-damaged text giving the accounts for the later part of Pachon after Theophanes' arrival at Antioch; (2) *P.Ryl.* 629, covering the whole of Pauni; and (3) *P.Ryl.* 630* lines 1–242, covering the remainder of Theophanes' stay at Antioch from Epeiph 9 to 26, when he left the city for

20. We would have expected 2,700 dr. at 300 dr. per pound, but the figure is clear, and the total for the day of 1 tal. 200 dr. is correct with the insertion of the five lines overlooked by Roberts at this point (*P.Ryl.* 629.49a–e; see appendix 2).

21. It is true that not all daily transactions were necessarily in cash—but most were, and this would certainly be true of market transactions, visits to the baths, and so on. See the discussion of costs, prices, and inflation in chapter 7 below.

22. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy*, p. 166. For an example see the note in appendix 2 on *P.Ryl.* 630*.475.

the journey home. The first eight days of Epeiph are missing from the record, and the journey back to Egypt is presented in chapter 6. Of these texts, the accounts for Pauni, which are not far from complete, have the look of a fair copy; the papyrus text is carefully written and laid out, and the few corrections seem more like errors made in copying out an earlier draft rather than in recording them in the first place.²³ Those for Pachon and Epeiph are composed of drafts of a less finished nature, and I begin with the most difficult of them, the accounts for Pachon 10–30.

(1) *P.Ryl.* 639; Antioch, Pachon 10–30 (May 5–25)

The text published by Roberts as *P.Ryl.* 639 consists of two pieces of a single papyrus, in the form of irregular horizontal strips measuring 47.8×8.8 cm for the upper and 57.5×13.2 cm for the lower part.²⁴ The upper piece contains the remains of six, the lower part the remains of eight columns of text; on the reverse are seven columns, again divided between upper and lower portions. Both pieces are heavily damaged, and although it is clear that one stood above the other, they do not join at any point. Generally speaking, the bottom of one column on the lower strip of papyrus leads to the top of the next column on the upper strip, but each column is broken by estimated gaps of anything between fourteen and eighteen lines between its upper and lower parts, and by many lines of which only slight traces remain.

Given their state of preservation, the fragments would barely claim our attention, except for two things. First, they contain draft accounts of a considerable part of a month Pachon, which in form and content closely resemble the more fully extant records for Pauni and Epeiph; and second, in their very first column, in a rather florid and emphatic heading they refer the accounts to a city whose name is preserved as “Anti[. . . .].” Despite Roberts’s ambivalence, the restoration “Anti[ocheia]” seems nothing if not compelling.²⁵ If so, and if the accounts are indeed part of the documentation of Theophanes’ stay at Antioch, they will be of particular interest, since they will cover the first part of Theophanes’ residence in the city, which is otherwise missing from the record.

In a careless moment, Roberts described the accounts as possibly filling the gap between *P.Ryl.* 629 and the composite text he published as 630* (see below), but of course this cannot be so. Those two documents run from Pauni to Epeiph, and although there is indeed a gap between them, *P.Ryl.* 639 cannot fill it, for the simple reason that Pachon precedes and does not follow Pauni. Roberts also thought that the date at which the accounts begin, Pachon 10 with a summary of earlier expenditure to Pachon 9, was inconsistent with the arrival of Theo-

23. Note especially the reversed entries in *P.Ryl.* 629.92–93; see appendix 2 for this and other references.

24. Roberts, pp. 149–51.

25. Recto, col. i line 3; *en Anti[och](eia)* or *en Anti[noeit(ōn) po]l(ei)*. Roberts prints the latter reading in his published text but in his introductory comments calls the former a “more attractive reading, given what we know of Theophanes’ movements” (p. 149). See appendix 2.

phanes at Antioch on Pachon 7.²⁶ This observation actually permits the opposite inference, since, although Theophanes himself arrived in the city late on Pachon 7, we have seen that this was not true of all his party, who followed him there from Laodicea in the succeeding days. The fact that the daily accounts begin on Pachon 10 and reckon the first periodic total for six days (Pachon 10–15 inclusive) rather than the usual five-day period which they observe thereafter strengthens the idea that something outside the usual run of things was happening on Pachon 10. It is not hard to see what this was. After Theophanes' party had rejoined him at Antioch on Pachon 9, he began a new pattern of life there on Pachon 10, and in order not to leave that one day in isolation he accounted for it with the five that followed. The coincidence of time and the resemblances in the form of the accounts and the items and costs recorded to those of the following months make the strongest possible case for connecting them with Theophanes' visit to Antioch. Indeed, so close is the similarity that one can suggest at least one improvement in either group of texts by reference to what appears in the other.²⁷

It is true, as Roberts points out, that the records do not mention such characteristic products of Syria as damsons or apricots, and that there is no mention of the measurement of wine by the *kabos* measure we find in the subsequent accounts for Antioch. However, the large gaps in the text make such arguments extremely tenuous (the absence of damsons and apricots may be simply because they were not yet in season); while on the second point, given the comparative prices in the memoranda, a payment of 1,800 dr. to a cellar-master on Pachon 25 looks very much like the cost of a *kabos* of wine. Besides this, what we have in *P.Ryl.* 639 is a draft of expenditures which is at various points less "finished" than its counterpart for Pauni. It may be for this reason, or just because different hands were involved in keeping the record, that we find a different word, *eissikia* for the Latin *isicia* rather than *loukanika*, for sausage, between the accounts for Pachon and Pauni. It is hardly a substantial point of difference. On the other side, the regular purchase of firewood anticipates Pauni and Epeiph and reflects the conditions of life at Antioch, in which Theophanes' party was cooking for itself in rented accommodation. As for the appearance on two occasions of citizens of Panopolis (lines 133, 183), this provides no real grounds for surprise. Panopolis, like Hermopolis and the Egyptian provinces in general, fell under the authority of the *vicarius* of the Orient, and it belonged, like Hermopolis, to the province of the Thebaid. There are many ways in which Panopolitans may have been found at Antioch and in which their and Theophanes' interests may have coincided.²⁸ This, and the appearance in the text of *officiales* and others

26. Roberts was imprecise in saying that the records "start on the ninth of the month" (p. 150). They begin on Pachon 10 with a summary to Pachon 9.

27. E.g., by reading [*karo*]idia kai schadia at 639 recto, col. iii line 22, avoiding the repetition of *opsaridia* from the previous line and corresponding to 629.32, 59, 77, etc.; and in 630*.323 inferring the sense "boiled trotters" from 639 recto, col. vii line 115.

28. Compare the "man from Oxyrhynchus" who turns up with neither warning nor further appearance at *P.Ryl.* 630*.48.

connected with the government, may simply reflect the nature of Theophanes' business in the city.

The broken state of the papyrus is certainly a deterrent to an attempt to offer a translation. Nevertheless, I have given one, with the help of some linking commentary to show how the broken pieces fit together. The papyrus is put in this place because that is where it belongs in the story. Its discontinuities make the text much harder to grasp than the records for the months that follow. Readers may find it helpful to become acquainted with the memoranda for Pauni before they approach those for Pachon, and in doing so they may become aware of some differences as well as similarities between them. They will find certain patterns in Theophanes' accounting procedures appearing first in a shadowy form, becoming more distinct as the month progresses. They may also notice the high profile in these earlier records of *officiales* and their staff and, most notably, some moments of very high expenditure, as of one who has many people, working colleagues and others, to entertain. Once the "assistant" of line 122 is given his Latin equivalent as *adiutor*, it is natural to see him as a person sent by the authorities at Antioch to work with Theophanes. It is clear too from the sum of 1,200 dr. spent on "common bread" on Pachon 22 that the *officiales* and the men of Panopolis who show up on that occasion were accompanied by large numbers of slave followers who also had to be fed.²⁹ The same thing occurred on Pachon 24, when 1,000 dr. were spent on common bread and the sum of 3,000 dr., or half a talent, was handed over to the Panopolitans "at Theophanes' instruction." Also on Pachon 24 Theophanes provided lunch for the *officiales* and, based on a conjectural though likely restoration of the text, may on the next day have spent a further 400 dr. on common loaves for their slave followers. Theophanes must have thought these expensive diners were haunting the place; we should perhaps envisage a working conference at which the issues were being thrashed out with the Panopolitans and people from the office of the *vicarius* of the Orient.

At the other extreme, the accounts record a sum as small as 200 dr.—just four bronze *nummi*, on the arguments presented above—handed over to Theophanes on Pachon 17. This is at line 54, where one is almost tempted to translate the phrase "to the *kyrios*" as "to the boss." Perhaps it has something to do with Theophanes' visit to the baths, recorded (again at 200 dr.) in the previous entry. Whatever the explanation, it is a tribute to the meticulous way in which the accounts were kept. The total of 140(+) tal., 1,000 dr. in lines 8–9 (the last digit of the figure in talents is missing) perhaps represents money in hand or available for the whole enterprise.

One technical feature of Roberts's publication of this papyrus, which has been mentioned before and recurs elsewhere, needs a few words of comment. In presenting the text he assigned line numbers only to lines of the text that could be read or of which visible traces remained. He estimated but in his numbering of lines did not count those that were altogether missing in the gaps between the upper and lower columns. The original text therefore contained many more

29. Lines 133–35, to be found at verso, col. ii sup.

than the number of lines assigned by Roberts to his printed version—I would estimate nearly 400 as opposed to Roberts’s 240. In the translation I have followed Roberts’s line numbers, including his indications of fragmentary and missing lines, while also attempting to restore the approximate layout of the original text.³⁰ In the form of some repeated entries, such as those for the two qualities of fine and common bread, I anticipate the better-preserved records of *P.Ryl.* 629. Here and later I use the convention [n] when the relevant part of the text is missing but must have contained a number.

Translation of <i>P.Ryl.</i> 639	<i>we reach the lower fragment. The missing lines must have contained the daily entries for Pachon 11 and 12; at lines 17–26 (in the lower fragment) we are already in Pachon 13, since Pachon 14 must fall in the gap in col. iii in order to reach Pachon 15 at lines 30–39. The text now runs from the lower part of col. ii into the upper part of col. iii, possibly with duplicated entries in lines 19/24 and 20/22:</i>	
(recto, col. i sup.)		
<i>The heading of lines 1–3 is written in large and rather florid letters across the top of the first two columns:</i>		
1–7 Acc[ount] of the foregoing expenses to Pachon 9	[n] tal., 4,500 dr.	
Account of exp[ense]s [. . .] at Anti[och]		(recto, col. ii inf.)
Pa[chon 10]		
cost of ver[mouth]	400 dr.	[Pachon 13]
cost of [. . .] (?pickled fish)	200 dr.	
(fresh) f]is[h]	200 dr.	
	17–26 clothing [. . .]	
[c. 18 lines missing]	[?for . . .]	1,200 dr.
	wine	900 dr.
(recto, col. i inf.)	nuts and dried figs	200 dr.
	(fresh) fish	100 dr.
8–9 Total of the whole [. . .],		
cash	140(+) tal., 1,000 dr.	(recto, col. iii sup.)
<i>Col. ii begins with scanty traces of 6 lines in the upper fragment, followed by a gap of about 18 lines and 1 line erased before</i>	[nu]ts and dried figs	200 dr.
	[for the me]nder, for two tunics	600 dr.
	[cost of w]ine	900 dr.

30. Roberts’s publication is an uninviting mass of words, numbers, and brief editorial commentary, with no visual indication of lines or columns. The annotations “sup.” and “inf.” naturally indicate the upper and lower portions of the columns on the broken papyrus.

[kemor]aphanos	[...] dr.	(recto, col. iv inf.)
Total for the day	3,800 dr.	
[traces of 3 lines]		[traces of 5 lines]
		49–64 green vegetables 100 dr.
[c. 18 lines missing]		ke]mia 200 dr.
		wi]ne 900 dr.
(recto, col. iii inf.)		kemoraphanos 500 dr.
		fo]r the bath 200 dr.
<i>To judge by the order of initial entries</i>		to the master 200 dr.
<i>in the accounts for Pauni (see below),</i>		Total for the day 3,600 dr.
<i>lines 30–31 begin a new day, which the</i>		
<i>periodic total at 38–39 shows to have</i>		(recto, col. v sup.)
<i>been Pachon 15:</i>		
		(Pachon) 18
30–39 fine l[oaves] 200 dr.		cost of meat [
common loaves for [the] boys 1,000 dr.		cost of green veg[etables
green vegetables 100 dr.		fine loaves [
firewood 200 dr.		common loaves [
(fresh) fish 200 dr.		eggs [
cheese 100 dr.		cheese [
olives 100 dr.		olives [
pickled fish 100 dr.		pickled fish [
(recto, col. iv sup.)		[c. 14 lines missing]
Total expenses for t[he] six [da]ys from		<i>When the text resumes we are in Pachon</i>
10th to 15th in[clusive], [n] tal., 400 dr.		<i>19, since Pachon 20 is indicated at the top</i>
[traces of 4 lines]		<i>of col. vi. Given the total expenses of</i>
		<i>4,500 dr. for the day, 2,100 dr. are missing</i>
[c. 16 lines missing]		<i>from Pachon 19:</i>
<i>We next find ourselves on Pachon 17,</i>		(recto, col. v inf.)
<i>since the top line of col. v indicates Pa-</i>		
<i>chon 18. From the daily total of 3,600 dr.</i>		[. . .
<i>for Pachon 17 it is evident that we are</i>		[. . .
<i>missing expenses of 1,500 dr. for that day,</i>		67–74 ordinary [olive oil] 700 dr.
<i>which would have been given in the lost</i>		pickled fish 100 dr.
<i>lines at the beginning of the entry;</i>		ol]ives 100 dr.
		wi]ne 900 dr.

for] the repair of crockery	100 dr.	kemoraphanos [	
ke]moraphanos	100 dr.	cost of beet, for Eudaimon	100 dr.
ver]mouth	400 dr.	Total for the day	4,[[7]]800 dr.
Total for the day	4,500 dr.		

The upper part of col. vi begins with a large κ indicating 20 (Pachon), followed by just the first letters of 8 lines. There is then a gap of about 4 lines between the upper and lower fragments and the traces of 3 more lines in the lower fragment before the text resumes. Except for the date, the accounts for Pachon 20 are therefore missing, but the list of entries, though not the prices, for Pachon 21 survives intact. The total for the day is corrected on the papyrus from 4,700 to 4,800 dr.:

(recto, col. vi sup.)

75 (Pachon) 20
[traces of 8 lines]

[c. 4 lines missing]

(recto, col. vi inf.)

[traces of 3 lines]

87–99 (Pachon) 21, fine lo[aves
common loaves for the bo[ys
green vegetables [
pi]ckled fish [
ol]ives [
vin]egar [
cheese [
firewood [
wine [
fine olive oil, one xestēs [

The accounts for Pachon 22 are to be found displaced at verso, col. ii, where the following 3 lines appear before the text dissolves into the traces of 9 lines and a gap of about 4 lines between the upper and lower fragments:

(verso, col. ii sup.)

133–35 (Pachon) 22: To the *officiales* and the Panopolitai, for lunch,
four fi[ne loa]ves 400 dr.
comm[on loaves . . .] 1,200 dr.

Returning to recto, col. vii, we find on the lower fragment, which is all that exists, indecipherable traces of 4 lines, followed in the margin of the next line by the letters κγ for (Pachon) 23. After 4 more indecipherable lines we come to the rest of the entries for that day. Those for fine and common loaves are filled in by analogy with preceding days, leaving something over 1,000 dr. to be supplied in the missing lines. Wine being accounted for in line 109, fish-sauce (garum), olive oil, and meat are obvious though conjectural possibilities:

(recto, col. vii inf.)

[traces of 4 lines]

104–17 (Pachon) 23: [?fine loaves]
[?common loaves]

[. . . .		(Pachon 24)	
[. . . .			
fire[wood(?]		(verso, col ii inf.)	
wine	900 dr.		
eggs	100 dr.	155–58 ol[ives]	100 dr.
kemoraph[anos]	100 dr.	eggs	200 dr.
for the bat[h]	300 dr.		
olives	100 dr.	(verso, col. iii sup.)	
pickled fish	100 dr.		
two boiled trotters	300 dr.	cost of fish sa[uce]	1,200 dr.
foam of nitre	100 dr.	or[dinar]y olive oil	700 dr.
[Total f]or the day	(?)4,300 dr.	[traces of 8 lines]	

The accounts for Pachon 24 and 25 are [c. 6 lines missing]
contained at verso, cols. iii–iv, with the
addition of 2 lines from the foot of col. ii. (verso, col. iii inf.)

The identification of the two days is clear
from the fact that lines 196–99 give a [traces of 8 lines]
daily total followed by an accumulated 175–90 to the [. . . .] 800 dr.
total for this day and the four preceding, cost of sausa[ges (isicia)] 800 dr.
to make up the usual accounting period flatbread (*tourtia*), [four] 400 dr.
of five days. This can only be Pachon 21– three trotters 300 dr.
25. It is, however, unclear where the divi- common loaves
sion between Pachon 24 and 25 should for the b[oys of A]poll[on] 400 dr.
come. If the conjectured reading in lines for the yo[ung] men of the *officialis*,
192–93 is correct, the repetition with 181– comm[on lo]aves 600 dr.
82 would suggest that these two entries
belong to different days. In that case Pa- (verso, col. iv sup.)
chon 25 would begin in the gap of 14 lines
after line 190. The daily total of 4 tal., to the [?Pan]opolitai
1,400 dr. recorded for Pachon 25 implies at your [in]struction 3,000 dr.
the loss of some very large expenses in vinegar 300 dr.
the missing lines. These may possibly be ver[mouth] 100 dr.
accounted for in the three displaced en- for [?lunch with t]he *officiales*
tries for Pachon 25 that follow at 121–24: [?and] for the same 600 dr.
lettu[ces] 100 dr.
cost of [. . . .] 600 dr.

[c. 14 lines missing]

(verso, col. iv inf.)

(Pachon 25)

[. . . .]

192–99 [?common loaves]

for t[he boys] of the *officialis* 400 dr.

kem[oraphanos] 100 dr.

to Vikin[os for?] the cellar-
master 1,800 dr.

Total for t[he da]y 4 tal., 1,400 dr.

Total ex[penses] for the five [da]ys from
21st to [25th] [inc]lusive 7 tal., 1,900 dr.

*There appear in the lower (the only ex-
tant) part of recto, col. viii three further
entries assigned to Pachon 25 that do not
resemble regular purchases but look like
extraordinary expenditures. It is unclear
how they relate to the very high recorded
expenses of that day, nor indeed how
many entries there really are, but the
very large sum of more than 3 talents
mentioned in line 124 would be an obvi-
ous explanation of that figure:*

(recto, col. viii inf.)

121–24 (Pachon) 25: a chair(?), for

t[he? . . .]

to the *adiutor* Mak[. . . .]

on behalf of

Silva[nu]s to the [. . .] 3 tal., [...] dr.

*These entries are followed on the papyrus
by a deleted entry attributed to Pauni 13.*

*The entry, which bears no relation to the
daily expenses of Pauni 13 (see below),
records the release of a substantial
amount of cash for unknown purposes to
Eudaimon:*

125–26 [[Pauni 13, cash in hand, to
Eudaimon [. . .] tal. 2,000 dr.]]

*Despite their broken state of preserva-
tion, the accounts for the last five days of
the month, Pachon 26–30, can be seen to
follow the regular form familiar from the
accounts for Pauni. It is, however, not al-
together clear where the days are sepa-
rated. The accounts for Pachon 27 began
in the space between the upper and lower
parts of col. v; perhaps also the beginning
of those for Pachon 28, although it is also
possible that Pachon 28 began in the cor-
responding gap in col. vi (after line 214).
In any case the repetition of content at
lines 205–07 and 212 and 221–24 shows
that these sequences belong to different
days, which will then be either Pachon 27
and 28, or Pachon 28 and 29. Given the
total for the day, some large items of ex-
penditure are missing from Pachon 30:*

(verso, col. v sup.)

200 (Pachon) [2]6: [cost] of meat,

2 lbs 1, [...] dr.

[. . . .]

[. . . .]

[c. 16 lines missing]

(verso, col. v inf.)			
		pickled fish	100 dr.
		olives	100 dr.
(Pachon 27 or 28)		green vegetables	100 dr.
[. . .]		firewood	200 dr.
[. . .]			
205–14 oli[ves]	100 dr.	(verso col. vii sup.)	
green veg[etables]	100 dr.		
fi[rewood]	200 dr.	eggs	200 dr.
fine ol[ive oil]	1,200 dr.	(fresh) fish	100 dr.
ordinary ol[ive oil]	700 dr.	dried fig[s]	200 dr.
		for the re[pair]	
(verso, col. vi sup.)		of cro[ckery]	200 dr.
		foam of nitr[e]	100 dr.
for [. . .] and [. . .]		[. . .]	
sausages (<i>isicia</i>)	400 dr.	[. . .]	
eggs	200 dr.		
<i>kemoraphanos</i>	[... dr.]	[c. 16 lines missing]	
soap	[... dr.]		
[. . .]		(verso, col. vii inf.)	
[. . .]			
		(Pachon 30)	
[c. 18 lines missing]		[..	
(verso col. vi inf.)		233–40 fish-sauce	1,200 dr.
		vinegar	200 dr.
		ordinary olive oil	700 dr.
(Pachon 28 or 29)		nuts and green vegetables	200 dr.
(216)–19 [?fine loaves?]		<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.
commo[n loaves]		Total for the day	1 tal., 700 dr.
cheese	100 [dr.]	Total expenses for the five days from	
meat, 2 lbs	600 dr.	26th to 30th inclusive	5 tal., 4,300 dr.

(2) *P.Ryl.* 629; Antioch, month of Pauni (May 26–June 24)

After the mare's nest of difficulties presented by *P.Ryl.* 639, the memoranda for the month of Pauni are a paradigm of clarity. Preserved, like those for Pachon, on a single piece of papyrus but in this case unbroken and in remarkably good physical condition—Roberts describes it as “the least damaged and most clearly written in the entire archive”—the accounts, written in a single hand throughout, cover the full thirty days of Pauni, complete with five-day totals and the grand total for the month. Only a very few days at the beginning and end of the month,

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 5.1. *P.Ryl.* 629 recto, cols. 5–6 (Pauni 7–10). Reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, John Rylands University Library, The University of Manchester.

written on both sides of the segment of papyrus that came outermost on the roll and were most exposed to wear and tear, are less than fully preserved. As to their content, there is no need to repeat what was said in the introduction to this chapter, with the exception of two observations.

First, it is in Pauni and the following month of Epeiph that we encounter Theophanes' purchases of clean papyrus. The absence of such purchases in Pachon is not significant, given the state of preservation of the records, though one may observe that of all materials, this is one of which Theophanes is likely to have brought supplies with him from Egypt.³¹ In any event, the price of papyrus at Antioch—at 100 dr. per glued sheet it was half the price of a day's supply of firewood—was not high.

The second observation relates to one of Theophanes' most intriguing individual expenditures, the one talent on religious observance (*eusebeia*) that can, with some considerable difficulty, be read on Pauni 30. Unfortunately, the line that records this is damaged, and the name of the gods or religious organization in whose interest the money was spent, if Theophanes ever gave it, can no longer be read. Because the item appears on the last day of Pauni, it is possible that the one talent accounts for the whole month's expenditure on religious observance in all its guises, which might include an act of formal commemoration in honor of the secular authorities or a family occasion. The exercise of piety in the ancient world involved the maintenance of all the personal, social, and religious ties that affected an individual in his relations with his community, family, and the gods—we saw how on the outward journey Theophanes allowed for the dedication of a silver image of the emperor in a temple at Ascalon and for the celebration of his daughter's birthday. A possibility worth considering, however, is that the payment had something to do with the famous festival of Adonis, celebrated at Antioch early in July (Pauni 30 was equivalent to June 24).³² Among much else, the celebrations involved a flower festival, to which one can well imagine visitors to Antioch as well as its residents contributing, as the city was festooned with color—the Greeks had a proverb “gardens of Adonis,” meaning a display of beauty and splendor destined quickly to fade. Theophanes was certainly in the city at the time of the festival.

Beyond this, I leave the text to speak for itself. Given their near-completeness over a defined period, the records for Pauni will obviously have a particularly important role in discussion of the more general issues raised by the memoranda. This will be seen in chapters 7 and 8 on prices, costs, and diet.

31. We saw in chapter 1 that papyrus was manufactured in some places near Antioch, but this is not likely to have formed part of Theophanes' planning.

32. See my *Laying Down the Law*, pp. 274–75, improving on *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, p. 275.

49a-e cheese	100 dr.	cucumbers	100 dr.
to Eudaimon, f[or. . .	400 dr.	Total for the da[y	5,]600 dr.
eggs	200 dr.	82-83 Total expenses for	
<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.	the five days from 1st to	
nuts	100 dr.	5th inclusive	4 tal. 5,[[5]]700 dr.
50 Total for the day	1 tal. 200 dr.		
		84-102 (Pauni) 6	
51-64 (Pauni) 4		cost of fine loaves	500 dr.
cost of six fine loaves	600 dr.	common loaves for the boys	900 dr.
common loaves for the boys	900 dr.	cost of green vegetables	100 dr.
olives	100 dr.	cost of anchovies for fish sauce	700 dr.
firewood	200 dr.	ditto, dried figs for the same	
green vegetables	100 dr.	purpose	200 dr.
eggs	200 dr.	salt	200 dr.
gourds	100 dr.	sweet wine, half a <i>kabos</i>	600 dr.
nuts and dried figs for dinner	100 dr.	evening, wine for cooking	100 dr.
vermouth	200 dr.	firewood for the same purpose	200 dr.
<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.	eggs	200 dr.
ordinary olive oil	700 dr.	olives	100 dr.
cost of papyrus roll, 2 sheets	200 dr.	cheese	100 dr.
Total for the day	3,500 dr.	pickled fish	100 dr.
		flatbread, 1	100 dr.
(col. iv)		<i>ke[mo]raphanos</i>	100 dr.
		ordinary olive oil	700 dr.
65-81 (Pauni) 5		foam of nitre for the bath	100 dr.
cost of fine loaves	700 dr.	Total for the day	5,000 dr.
common loaves for the boys	900 dr.		
cheese	100 dr.	(col. v)	
pickled fish	100 dr.		
olives	100 dr.	103-19 (Pauni) 7	
green vegetables	100 dr.	cost of three fine loaves	300 dr.
firewood	200 dr.	common loaves for the boys	900 dr.
gourds	100 dr.	soap	200 dr.
eggs	200 dr.	green vegetables	100 dr.
flatbread for dinner, 2	200 dr.	firewood	200 dr.
one spathion of wine	2,900 dr.	olives	100 dr.
nuts and dried figs for dinner	100 dr.	pickled fish	100 dr.
<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.	cheese	100 dr.
		flatbread, 1	100 dr.

eggs	200 dr.	147–60 (Pauni) 10	
gourds	100 dr.	cost of four fine loaves	400 dr.
cucumbers	100 dr.	common loaves for the boys	800 dr.
fine olive oil	1,200 dr.	cost of green veg. and gourds	100 dr.
vermouth	200 dr.	firewood	100 dr.
<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.	pickled fish	100 dr.
Total for the day	4,000 dr.	olives	100 dr.
		cheese	100 dr.
120–35 (Pauni) 8		eggs	200 dr.
cost of papyrus roll, 4 sheets	400 dr.	to Horos at your instruction,	
cost of four fine loaves	400 dr.	cost of papyrus	400 dr.
common loaves for the boys	900 dr.	<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.
green vegetables	100 dr.	apricots	100 dr.
pickled fish	100 dr.	Total for the day	2,500 dr.
olives	100 dr.	161–62 Total expenses for	
firewood	200 dr.	the five days from 5th	
ordinary [olive oil]	900 dr.	(sc. 6th) to 10th inclusive	3 tal. 500 dr.
sa[u]sages for lunch			
at Eulogius's	200 dr.	(col. vii)	
cost of fresh figs	200 dr.		
che[ese]	100 dr.	163–78 (Pauni) 11	
		cost of fine loaves	400 dr.
(col. vi)		common loaves	600 dr.
		gourds	200 dr.
onions	100 dr.	cucumbers	100 dr.
<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.	olives	100 dr.
Total for the day	3,600 dr.	pickled fish	100 dr.
		cheese	100 dr.
136–46 (Pauni) 9		eggs	200 dr.
cost of five fine loaves	500 dr.	firewood	100 dr.
common loaves for the boys	800 dr.	vermouth	200 dr.
green veg. and gourds	100 dr.	nettles (?)	100 dr.
firewood	200 dr.	ordinary olive oil	700 dr.
eggs	400 dr.	<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.
wine	1,100 dr.	cost of wooden bowls	400 dr.
for the bath, with Antoninus	200 dr.	Total for the day	3,400 dr.
<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.		
Total for the day	3,400 dr.		

179–89 (Pauni) 12		cucumbers	100 dr.
cost of fine loaves	400 dr.	carrots	100 dr.
common loaves for the boys	600 dr.	<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.
green vegetables	100 dr.	Total for the day	1,700 dr.
firewood	100 dr.		
meat, 4 lbs for salting	1,200 dr.	217–34 (Pauni) 15	
nuts	100 dr.	cost of fine loaves	400 dr.
wine, half a <i>kabos</i>	700 dr.	common loaves for the boys	600 dr.
<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.	soap	200 dr.
[[eggs]]		olives for lunch with Antoninus	100 dr.
Total for the day	3,300 dr.	cheese	100 dr.
		flatbread	200 dr.
190–206 (Pauni) 13		sausages	200 dr.
cost of fine loaves	400 dr.	nuts and dried figs	200 dr.
common loaves for the boys	600 dr.	apricots	100 dr.
vinegar	100 dr.	eggs	200 dr.

(col. viii)

(verso, col. i)

gourds for the wedding of		green vegetables	100 dr.
Rell(ios) (??)	100 dr.	cucumbers and gourds	100 dr.
green vegetables	100 dr.	firewood	100 dr.
firewood	100 dr.	ordinary olive oil	700 dr.
eggs	200 dr.	<i>kemoraphanos</i> and lettuces	100 dr.
cheese	100 dr.	Total for the day	3,000 dr.
olives	100 dr.	235–37 Total expenses for	
pickled fish	100 dr.	the five days from 11th to 15th	
for the bath	100 dr.	inclusive	2 tal. 2,000 dr.
foam of nitre	100 dr.		
<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.	238–49 (Pauni) 16	
onions	100 dr.	cost of fine loaves	400 dr.
Total for the day	2,300 dr.	common loaves for the boys	600 dr.
		cheese	100 dr.
207–16 (Pauni) 14		pickled fish	100 dr.
cost of fine loaves	400 dr.	olives	100 dr.
common loaves for the boys	600 dr.	cucumbers and gourds	100 dr.
gourd(s) for cooking	100 dr.	green vegetables	100 dr.
firewood	100 dr.	firewood	100 dr.
eggs	200 dr.	wine, half a <i>kabos</i>	900 dr.

eggs	100 dr.	<i>kemoraphanos</i> and apricots	100 dr.
Total for the day	2,600 dr.	Total for the day	3,900 dr.

250–58 (Pauni) 17

cost of fine loaves	400 dr.
common loaves for the boys	600 dr.
pickled fish	100 dr.
cheese	100 dr.
firewood	100 dr.
mulberries	200 dr.
vermouth	200 dr.
Total for the day	1,700 dr.

(col. ii)

259–70 (Pauni) 18

cost of fine loaves	200 dr.
common loaves for the boys	400 dr.
gourds for cooking	100 dr.
firewood	100 dr.
(fresh) fish, 1 lb.	300 dr.
wine, one <i>kabos</i>	1,500 dr.
<i>kemia</i> and lettuces	100 dr.
cucumbers	100 dr.
papyrus	300 dr.
vermouth	200 dr.
Total for the day	3,300 dr.

271–83 (Pauni) 19

cost of fine loaves	200 dr.
common loaves for the boys	600 dr.
cost of meat, 6 lbs	1,800 dr.
cost of olives	100 dr.
green veg., gourds	100 dr.
firewood	100 dr.
ordinary olive oil	700 dr.
vinegar	100 dr.
olive oil for the use of(?)	
Silvanus	100 dr.

284–300 (Pauni) 20

cost of fine loaves	200 dr.
common loaves for the boys	600 dr.
soap	100 dr.

(col. iii)

pickled fish for lunch with

Antoninus	100 dr.
apricots and plums	100 dr.
firewood	100 dr.
green veg. and (?)carrots	100 dr.
spelt-grits (from?) Silvanus	100 dr.
salt	100 dr.
eggs	200 dr.
gourds and cucumbers	100 dr.
<i>kemoraphanos</i> and lettuces	100 dr.
honey for the grits	100 dr.
[[cheese]]	[[]]
Total for the day	2,100 dr.

301–02 Total expenses for

the five days from 16th to 20th	
inclusive	2 tal. 1,600 dr.

304–16 (Pauni) 21

cost of fine loaves	200 dr.
common loaves for the boys	600 dr.
pickled fish, one (<i>no measure</i>)	400 dr.
firewood	100 dr.
[[gourds for cooking]]green	
vegetables	100 dr.
cost of slippers for the bath	300 dr.
to you, for the bath with the	
party of Antoninus	200 dr.
paid to the fuller for (cleaning)	
a cloak	1,400 dr.

eggs	200 dr.	(col. v)	
foam of nitre	100 dr.		
<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.	347–59 (Pauni) 24	
Total for the day	3,700 dr.	paid to the mender, for two	
		tunics	400 dr.
(col. iv)		cost of soda	200 dr.
		cost of three fine loaves	300 dr.
317–55 (Pauni) 22		common loaves for the boys	600 dr.
for lunch with Antoninus	200 dr.	green veg. and gourds	100 dr.
cost of six fine loaves	600 dr.	firewood	100 dr.
common loaves for the boys	600 dr.	fine o[live oi]l, one x(estēs)	1,000 dr.
flatbread, 4	400 dr.	vinegar, two x(estai)	200 dr.
sausages	200 dr.	eggs	200 dr.
eggs for lunch	400 dr.	<i>kemia</i> and cucumbers	100 dr.
cheese	200 dr.	f[or lu]nch with Antoninus	200 dr.
cucumb[ers]	100 dr.	Total for [the da]y	3,600 dr.
gourds for cook[ing]	500 dr.		
firewood	200 dr.	360–71 (Pauni) 25	
olives	100 dr.	cost of fine loaves	400 dr.
dates and four apricots [and		common loaves for the boys	600 dr.
?plum]s	300 dr.	vegetables and gourds	100 dr.
wine, one <i>ka[bos]</i>	1,700 dr.	firewood	100 dr.
ordinary olive oil	700 dr.	eggs	200 dr.
<i>kemia</i> and lettuces	100 dr.	soap	100 dr.
one garlic	100 dr.	spiced wine	100 dr.
Total for the day	5,800 dr.	olives for lunch for the boys	100 dr.
		artichokes and cucumbers and	
336–46 (Pauni) 23		lettuces	100 dr.
cost of fine loaves	300 dr.	Total for the day	1,800 dr.
common loaves for the boys	600 dr.	372–73 Total expenses for	
eggs	200 dr.	the five days from 21st to 25th	
green veg. and gourds	100 dr.	inclusive	3 tal. 100 dr.
olives	100 dr.		
firewood	100 dr.	374–86 (Pauni) 26	
<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.	cost of fine loaves	200 dr.
meat, 3 lbs	900 dr.	common loaves for the boys	400 dr.
to the fuller for a c[loa]k	800 dr.	ordinary olive oil	700 dr.
Total for the day	3,200 dr.		

(col. vi)

(col. vii)

cost of provisions	200 dr.	407–19 (Pauni) 29	
green veg. and gourds	100 dr.	c[ost] of fine loaves	200 dr.
firewood	100 dr.	[comm]on loaves for t[he bo]ys	400 dr.
eggs	200 dr.	co[st] of [. . . .]	300 dr.
wine for l[un]ch, one x(estēs)	200 dr.	spelt-grits	100 dr.
to y[ou], cash in hand	100 dr.	honey	[] dr.
c[ost] of olive oil	400 dr.	firewood	200 dr.
meat for salting, 8 lbs	[2,400?] dr.	[. . . .]	100 dr.
Total for the day	4,700 dr.	[. . . .]	200 dr.
		[. . . .]	200 dr.
		[. . . .]	100 dr.
387–99 [(Pauni) 27]			
[co]st of fine [lo]aves	[	[fir]ewood(?), through	
[comm]on loaves for the boys	[	[He]rmes	200 dr.
[?foam of so]da	[?100 dr.]	Total for the day	2,500 dr.
for the bath with Antoninus	[?200 dr.]		
flatbread, 1	[100 dr.]	420–28 [(Pauni) 30]	
olives	[	[cost] of fine [lo]aves	200 dr.
firewood, through Hermes(?)	[	[common loaves for t]he boys	400 dr.
wine for lunch with Antoninus,		[. . . .]	200 dr.
2 x(estai)	[	[. . . .]	200 dr.
[. . . .]	[	ordinary olive oil	700 dr.
[. . . .]	[	green vegetables	100 dr.
Total for the day	2,300 dr.	to the [. . . .] (<i>pl.</i>) for relig[i]ous	
		observance(?)	1 tal.
400–406 (Pauni) 28		Total for the day	1 tal. 1,800 dr.
cost of fine loaves	[200] dr.	429–30 Total [ex]penses for	
common loaves for the boys	?300 dr.	t[he] five days from [2]6th	
green vegetables	100 dr.	to 30th inclusive	3 tal. 400 dr.
firewood	100 dr.		
olives	[100] dr.	431 Total expenses for	
Total for the day	800 dr.	the mo[nt]h	[1]8 tal. 4,[400] dr.

432–35 are almost illegible, revealing little but the word for “month,” and at 435 a large sum in talents, possibly the grand total for this and for the month of Pachon.

(3) *PRyl.* 630* lines 1–242: Antioch, Epeiph 9–26 (July 3–20)

The later stages of Theophanes' stay at Antioch and his journey home to Egypt are documented in a group of papyri, *PRyl.* 630–38, consisting of various draft and fair versions and published by Roberts as a composite text, *PRyl.* 630*.³³ This long document of almost 550 lines is here translated in two parts. The first part contains the accounts for Epeiph 9–26, covering the last part of Theophanes' stay at Antioch, and is presented in this chapter as a sequel to the accounts for Pachon and Pauni. The second part, which ended back in Egypt on Mesore 23, follows in chapter 6, describing Theophanes' homeward journey.

The entries for Epeiph take the same general form as those for Pauni but are less well preserved (though much better than those for Pachon). At the same time, the character of the entries offers a greater variety of detail. This is no doubt the result of the way in which the records were kept, rather than of any change in the nature of Theophanes' activities as they moved toward their conclusion. As previously, daily expenditures and totals are compiled over five-day accounting periods, a practice that persists even when, as at the end of the document when Theophanes is back in Egypt, expenditures are very small and daily totals are not given. The only exception is the absence of a total for the last group of entries, which cover the three days Mesore 21–23; instead there is a total for the entire month to that point, which must mark the end of the journey. The irregularity matches that found on Pachon 10–15, at the beginning of Theophanes' stay at Antioch. Regular food purchases in Epeiph are also such as are familiar from earlier months, with certain larger items such as the papyrus rolls already mentioned. In addition, some new characters appear, such as a mysterious "man from Oxyrhynchus" on Epeiph 13 and, on Epeiph 25, an unnamed widow (whose possible role is described in the next paragraph). There are also more frequent references to the *symbolē*, or agreement, that Theophanes was involved in negotiating and, perhaps connected with this, an intriguing deviation from regular practice. On Epeiph 15, the accounts list an unusually large quantity of refined bread (600 dr. for six loaves), but no "common loaves for the boys" at all. References on this and the previous day to payments for the *symbolē* hint at a celebration, at which Theophanes allowed his slave followers to share the superior fare of himself and his colleagues of higher rank.

There were still ten days of work to do. On Epeiph 17 Theophanes made the largest of his purchases of papyrus, a roll of seven glued sheets. On Epeiph 25, he bought a roll of two sheets, and in the very next entry paid a stenographer the sum of 3,000 dr. "for the agreement." This date also marked his last regular purchase of firewood, another sign that he was relinquishing his Antiochene routine. His business was almost concluded; a few lines later on the same day the word *hodon*, "journey" (in the accusative case), appears in the papyrus and is followed almost immediately by a tantalizing reference to the payment of an unknown but evidently

33. More precisely, 630–34 are fair copies and 635–37 are drafts of the accounts; 638 is a fragment of homeward itinerary. At least three hands can be detected. A fuller account is given in appendix 2.

substantial sum of money to the unnamed widow of someone whose name has also disappeared from the papyrus. Yet something can be made of the situation. The total expenditure for the five days in which the item occurs is over five talents, and although there are several missing entries, a large payment to the widow would go some way toward accounting for it. It looks like a final settlement of some sort; whether contractual or charitable is impossible to say, but the payment of a lump sum in rent at the end of a long accommodation in Antioch seems a likely explanation.

On the following day the text has yet another reference (not quite its last) to the *symbolē* and, after a purchase of *loukanika* and some other items, mentions Kata Hydata, the second staging post, after Daphne, on the road south from Antioch. This first day on the journey home, a mere fourteen miles, does not begin to match the sixty-four miles Theophanes had covered on the outward journey in his haste to reach Antioch from Laodicea—but then, as we saw earlier, the circumstances were very different. We can imagine him now, completing his work in the city, settling his account for the agreement, tying up other loose ends such as the payment of rent to the widow, ordering his party to pack its belongings and leaving on the following afternoon, content to reach Kata Hydata by the evening of the first day out of Antioch.

Translation of *P.Ryl.* 630*, lines 1–242

The accounts resume at Epeiph 9 and cover the last part of Theophanes' stay at Antioch, followed by the records of his journey home. The section presented here is lines 1–242 of P.Ryl. 630, down to Theophanes' arrival at Kata Hydata and the final entries for Epeiph 26.*

1–11 [(Epeiph) 9]

[.]

two fi[ne loav]es [200 dr.]

[common brea]d for the boys

[cos]t of a half-*kabos* [of wine]

[for] lunch wi[th. . .]

[. . .] and green veg[etables]

[. . .]s an[d . . .]

[egg]s

[ca]rrots and lettu[ces]

[. . .]

Total for th[e d]ay 3,500 dr.

12–14 [(Epeiph) 10]

two fine [loav]es 200 dr.

[common bread] for the boys 600 dr.

(Traces of ten lines; they would have included the remaining expenses for Epeiph 10, with the totals for the day and the five-day period Epeiph 6–10).

15–24 Epeiph 11

cost of three f[ine] loaves 300 dr.

common bread for the bo[ys] 400 dr.

green veg. and cuc[umbers] 100 dr.

firewood [] dr.

ol[ive oil?]

melon [

gourds and *kemia* [

foam of nitre [

Total (for the day) 1,300 dr.

25–35 (Epeiph) 12		to [Her]mes on your account,	
cost of fine loaves	?700 dr.	also for the agreement	1,000 dr.
common bread for the boys	400 dr.	[go]urds	100 dr.
to you, cash in hand for the		firewood	100 dr.
agreement	2,100 dr.	[Total] for the day	4,500 dr.
to the attendants	600 dr.		
cost of 5 lbs of meat for		64–72 (Epeiph) 15	
salting	2000 dr.	cost of common bread	600 dr.
to Hermes on your account,		to you, cash in hand for the	
for the agreement	1,700 dr.	agreement	2,400 dr.
firewood	100 dr.	firewood	100 dr.
green vegetables	100 dr.	coriander seed	100 dr.
Total for the day	1 tal., 1,600 dr.	nettles (?)	100 dr.
		<i>kemia</i> and cucumbers	100 dr.
36–49 (Epeiph) 13		fish-sauce	100 dr.
cost of wine, one <i>kabos</i>	1,700 dr.	Total for the day	3,500 dr.
cost of three fine loaves	300 dr.	73–74 Total expenses for	
common bread for the boys	400 dr.	the five days from 11th	
ordinary olive oil	700 dr.	to 15th inclusive	4 tal. 2,800 dr.
for the bath	100 dr.		
green veg. and cucumbers	100 dr.	(73)–82 [(Epeiph) 16]	
olives and gourds	100 dr.	[cost of fine loaves]	[]
firewood	100 dr.	[common bread for th]e boys	[] dr.
eggs	200 dr.	[. . . .]	200 dr.
foam of nitre and <i>kemia</i>	100 dr.	[verm]outh	200 dr.
[lines 46–47 fragmentary]		[firewoo]d	100 dr.
to the man from [O]x[y]rhynchus		[aprico]ts(?) and lettuces and	
[] dr.		plums	100 dr.
[Total] for the day	1 tal. 3,400 dr.	fish sauce	100 dr.
		Total for the day	1,500 dr.
50–63 (Epeiph) 14			
[co]st of three fine loaves	300 dr.	83–96 [(Epeiph) 17]	
common bread	400 dr.	[cost] of fine loaves	200 dr.
[fi]rewood	200 dr.	[common brea]d for the boys	600 dr.
melon	100 dr.	[me]lon	100 dr.
olives and g[reen veg.]	100 dr.	[mea]t for salting, 7 lbs	2,800 dr.
pickled fish	100 dr.	[egg]s	100 dr.
to you, for the agreement	1,900 dr.	firewood	100 dr.
[co]st of vermou[th]	200 dr.	[go]urds	100 dr.

[wi]ne, one <i>kabos</i>	1,800 dr.	125–41 (Epeiph) 20	
fish sauce	100 dr.	cost of fine loaves	200 dr.
to [the] soldier for paper	700 dr.	common bread for the boys	600 dr.
vinegar	100 dr.	eggs for lunch and for dinner	400 dr.
[. . .]s and cucumbers for		[gra]pes	100 dr.
lunch	100 dr.	[. . .] (<i>pl.</i>)	100 dr.
Total for the day	1 tal. 800 dr.	o[liv]es and cucumbers and	
		young vegetables	100 dr.
97–110 (Epeiph) 18		melon	100 dr.
[cost] of two fine [lo]aves	200 dr.	gourds	100 dr.
c[ommon br]ead for the boys	400 dr.	firewood	100 dr.
[gra]pes	100 dr.	fish sauce	100 dr.
fire]wood	100 dr.	vinegar	100 dr.
n[itr]on?	100 dr.	<i>kemia</i> and lettuces	100 dr.
[. . . c]ost [of . . . wit]h		vermouth	200 dr.
H[er]mo]doros? [. . .]	1,000 dr.	wine and nu[ts]	900 dr.
ordinary o[il?], one xestēs	700 dr.	Total for the day	3,200 dr.
eggs	200 dr.	142–43 Total expenses for	
pick[led f]ish and <i>kemia</i>	100 dr.	the five da[ys] from 16th	
fine loa[ves] for dinner	100 dr.	to 20th inclusive	2 tal., 1,450 dr.
fish sauce	100 dr.		
eggs	100 dr.	144–56 (Epeiph) 21	
[Total for the d]ay	3,200 dr.	fine [loaves]	[] dr.
		[. . . .] and o[lives?	
111–24 (Epeiph) 19		comm[on bread] for the b[oys	
cost of two fi[ne loa]ves	200 dr.	flatbr]ead [	
co[m]mo]n bread for the boys	600 dr.	melo[n	
grapes	100 dr.	pickled fish [	
fresh figs	100 dr.	fi[re]wood [	
che[es]e for lunch	100 dr.	gr[een veg. a]nd . . .	
[. . .] and onions and [youn]g		eggs [	
vegetables	100 dr.	fish sauce [	
gr[een veg.] and cucumbers	100 dr.	fine olive oil [	
firewood	100 dr.	[Total for t]he day	[] dr.
eggs	200 dr.		
fish sauce	100 dr.	157–74 [(Epeiph) 22]	
<i>kemia</i>	50 dr.	two fine [loave]s	[200 dr.]
Total for the day	1,750 dr.	[common bread for the bo]ys [	
		[. . . an]d fresh fig[s	

ord]inary ol[ive oil		[. . .]	100 dr.
f[ire]wood [		[. . .]	[.. dr.]
e[ggs		<i>[Line 201 daily total, not preserved]</i>	
c[ucumbers] and green veg.[			
[.] (<i>pl.</i>)		202–24 (Epeiph) 25	
[. . .		f[ine] loa[ves	
[. . .		common bread [for the bo]y[s	
wi[ne	[] dr.	mea[t of . . .], 3 lbs	1,200 dr.
to Hermes [. . .]	300 dr.	gra[pes and apr]icots(?)	100 dr.
[. . . and yo]ung veg[etables]	100 dr.	to Horos [an]d Theon	1,500 dr.
kem[ia]	[] dr.	to the stenog[raph]er for the	
[. . .		agreement (?)	3,000 dr.
[Total for the day]	[. .]50 dr.	cost of paper [. . .]	200 dr.
		ordinar[y . . .]	200 dr.
175–85 (Epeiph) 23		green vegetable[s]	100 dr.
[fine loa]ves	200 dr.	olive oil, [fin]e	400 dr.
comm[on bread for the boys]	400 dr.	fish sauce	[] dr.
green veg[etables and go]urds	100 dr.	hon[ey]	[] dr.
fire[wood]	100 dr.	foam of n[itre	
fish sauc[e]	100 dr.	for the bath [	
(to the) m[ender? . . .]	600 dr.	kemia a[nd] cucu[mber	
[	]	firewood [	
[. . .]	200 [dr.]	wine, vess[els. . .]	600 dr.
k[emia?]	50 [dr.]	[fine?] loaves [. for the]	
Total [for the day]	[. .] dr.	journey [	
		more gr[apes?	
186–201 (Epeiph) 24		for the widow o[f. . .	
[fine loa]ves		Total for the day [	
c[ommon bread for the boys		[225–27 Total expenses for	
gra[pes		the five days from 2[1st to	
gou[rds		25th] in[clusive]	5 tal. [. .] dr.
firewood [			
[e]ggs [		228–42 (Epeiph) 26	
[fish sa]uce [		[to you] for the a[greement	
[f]oam of ni[tre	[] dr.	sausa[ges	
f[ine] loaves [		<i>[lines 231–32 fragmentary]</i>	
[. . . .] for u[s?		more [. . .	
[for the] bo[ys?]	200(?) [dr.]	four more [. . .	
[. . .]	[. .] dr.	wine for [. . .	

apples [
 at Kata Hy[data]
 price of wi[ne for drinks wi]th
 (the party of?) Eulogi[os
 to ourselves, for d[inner
 for the ba[th
 Total for the day [

6 Homeward Bound

THE LATER PARTS OF *P.Ryl.* 630*, over three hundred lines of text, offer a much more closely documented picture of Theophanes' return to Egypt than the rough outline of the outward journey that we saw in chapter 3. We follow Theophanes' progress south through the cities and way stations along the coasts of Syria, Phoenice, and Palestine to Egypt and get quite a vivid impression of what it was like to undertake such a journey. Travelers tend for company and safety to congregate in groups along the road, and so we find various individuals with whom Theophanes shared his journey and who joined him for meals and social drinking along the way. Some were already connected with him, others were new acquaintances. We meet Theon the *officialis* (so called to distinguish him from another person of the same name mentioned elsewhere); Eulogius and Hermodorus and their parties, with whom at various times Theophanes shared expenses at the lodgings at which they stayed and on visits to baths, with the usual purchases of *nitron*; Dion, whom we meet with Hermodorus at Caesarea on Mesore 6; and Alexandros, who shares hospitality with Dion at Raphia on Mesore 9. Eulogius we already know, if he is the same man as the financial agent from whom Theophanes drew money at Pelusium and Gaza during the outward journey, and whom we saw having lunch with Theophanes at Antioch on Pauni 8. After a long absence from the record, Eulogius reappears at Kata Hydata on Epeiph 26, and ten days later, somewhere south of Sidon (probably Ptolemais), on Mesore 5; to be traveling so closely with him, Eulogius must have left Antioch at the same time as Theophanes. Hermodorus is first seen at Antioch on Epeiph 18 and at Caesarea with Dion on Mesore 6. He shows up with his followers on the following day at Betaros, just south of Caesarea, and is still with Theophanes on Mesore 14, only two days' travel from Babylon. The

name Hermodorus is not uncommon, but since he traveled this far in his company, it is not impossible that he is Theophanes' brother-in-law, the writer of an extant letter to Theophanes (see chapter 2). Dion, Alexandros, and Theon the *officialis* are new names, people who seem simply to have traveled with Theophanes along part of the road, exchanging hospitality from time to time. It may be that while Theophanes was going south to Babylon, they were continuing their journey to Alexandria. In this case their roads would part at Pelusium.

Toward the end of the text we read in two places, at Rhinocolura and Pelusium, of more preparations for a "journey," as Theophanes lays in extra supplies: bread, eggs, large flagons of wine, with an especially large allowance of plain loaves for the slaves in the party. The preparations were not so much for a new journey as for stretches of the road through the desert where settlement was less frequent and supplies of food less readily available. The memoranda show that from Pelusium to Heliopolis and Babylon, Theophanes was pursuing a different route from that of his outward journey. Perhaps the annual flooding of the river Nile, now at its height, had something to do with this change in Theophanes' route, which lies somewhat to the east of his outward journey.¹ In this late section, too, is the only extant reference in the memoranda to fodder for pack animals. This might be because Theophanes had left the main road and was no longer using the resources of the imperial transport service.

Theophanes' eating habits and lifestyle on the homeward journey were in some ways not so different from what he had enjoyed at Antioch. He still buys meat regularly and in quite generous quantities. He still—but not invariably, and less frequently toward the end of the journey—buys firewood for cooking. He buys *nitron* and goes to the baths, and we have already seen him dining and having drinks with his friends. He maintained variety in his diet, even adding some items that have not, or have only rarely, appeared before. Trotters appear twice (once with the head of the animal), but these were a delicacy that Theophanes had also enjoyed at Antioch. For the only time in the extant accounts we find meat specified as "pork meat," at the low price of 100 dr.;² goat meat occurs once, on the following day (Mesore 9), and costs three times as much. At Pelusium, Theophanes purchased a food item that appears nowhere else in the accounts, namely, snails. A draft annotation not entered into the final version of the accounts says that the snails were bought "for the boys," as in the case of another unique appearance, at Antipatris on Mesore 7, of bean soup—rare hints, if we exclude the daily purchases of plain bread, of a diet specific to slaves.³

1. For a vivid description of the inundation, see Naphtali Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, pp. 108–09.

2. That is, if the word for "pork" can be read on the papyrus; see the comment on this line (*PRyl.* 630*.411) in appendix 2. To judge by the surrounding entries, it was a small piece of meat for Theophanes' own lunch.

3. See the notes on these items in appendix 2 (on lines 406, 505). There is some inconsistency in the fragments making up *PRyl.* 630* as to whether plain bread is recorded in the singular (*kibariou*) or

On several occasions beginning (in the extant accounts) at Biblos on Mesore 1, we encounter something called *exatilia*. Roberts's suggestion that it might be connected with the Latin *saxatilia*, a word used by Columella and Pliny to denote certain sea fish after their rocky habitat, was little more than a learned guess but is not implausible. The form of the word in *-ilia* requires a Latin origin, and these *exatilia* are bought in places along a coastal road, where seafood would be available and in a passage of the accounts where the word earlier used for fish, *opsaridia*, does not occur.⁴ Despite this, I have in the translation been content to transcribe the Greek word. It is all the more striking that one product of the sea, *tarichos*, or pickled fish, which had been a regular part of Theophanes' diet at Antioch, occurs only once in the extant records of the homeward journey, at Pelusium on Mesore 13; it is among items bought for the journey over the desert to Heliopolis and Babylon. Another staple item that occurs on a daily basis in the earlier accounts, green vegetables or pot-herbs (*lachana*), also appears less frequently in these later sections. We find it for the last time on the journey proper at Sidon (although the memoranda for the next three days are incomplete, there are no breaks in the record south of Betaros). Perhaps green vegetables were harder to find as one went south in the advancing summer. They make a final appearance at Babylon, an irrigated region with plenty of market gardens to offer fresh produce.

There is a small number of entries where the meaning is not clear, or where we know the sense of a word but cannot be sure what it refers to. A satisfactory interpretation is not easily found of the *embasis pre*() on which Theophanes spent an unknown but quite substantial sum of money at Biblos on Mesore 1. The Greek word *embasis* means an entrance or embarkation, as of a place or journey, but the abbreviation *pre*() frustrates restoration, not least because it might be of either a Latin or a Greek word.⁵ The total expenditure for the day on which the entry occurs is 1 tal. 100 dr. (or 6,100 dr.), of which the extant entries add up to 2,700 dr. Five entries are missing, but between them they are likely to have left a considerable sum for this *embasis*; perhaps it was an entry fee for a public occasion of some sort. Again, although the word—another Latin import—is perfectly well understood, it is not clear for what purpose Theophanes made a payment of about 1,000 drachmas to the *magisterion* (an office or superintendency) at Pelusium on Mesore 13, nor what position of authority was held by the *magister*, if there was such a person corresponding to the office. The precise sum paid is not extant but can be worked out from the other costs and total for the day.

plural (*kibariōn*, sc. *psōmiōn*). In the translation I have followed *PRyl.* 633, the most substantial fragment (running from Mesore 3 to the end) and used the plural throughout, even if this differs from previous practice. The term is often abbreviated, which makes its original form uncertain.

4. Roberts, p. 148, on *PRyl.* 630*.332; Columella 8.16.8, Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 32.150. For *opsaridia*, chapter 7, n. 37. I have taken the word *chrysophydr*(), which occurs twice in this part of the accounts, to refer to the gilt-head, a sort of fish—the sea bream (*Sparus aurata*), still a prized item in the Mediterranean diet; see appendix 2 on *PRyl.* 630*.411.

5. Again, it is not quite certain that this is a correct reading of the Greek letters; appendix 2.

At certain moments, as on the outward journey, we find a more personal touch amid the now familiar list of regular purchases. One entry records how, at Biblos, Theophanes bought *chionos (h)udōr*, snow-chilled water. Now that we have come so far with him, a moment's fantasy will do no harm; we are in high summer, on Mesore 1 (July 25), and Biblos, under the lofty mountains of Lebanon, was one of the very few places in the east Mediterranean world where such an exotic commodity could have been found. On Mesore 13, Theophanes refers back to the purchase, at Tyre, of a "wine-jar in the form of Silenus." It was, one has to say, a typically tacky tourist's purchase, but the kind of thing that many of us have indulged in. If the object turns up one day, in some future excavations at Hermopolis, it will no doubt be described as of local manufacture.

This last section of the memoranda relating to Theophanes' homeward journey, in which his financial transactions are embedded in his onward progress from place to place, provides an especially good opportunity to follow, day by day, the lifestyle of a traveler. Through the mention of purchases for lunch and dinner, it is sometimes possible even to see the time of day at which Theophanes and his party passed through certain places.

Beginning with the first day out on the journey from Antioch, they spent the night, that of Epeiph 26, in the lodging at Kata Hydata, just fourteen miles along the road from the city; a glance at the outward journey will show that they passed en route the stylish resort of Daphne. Only three items of expenditure are noted after this short day's journey, for which Theophanes had laid in supplies before starting; they are for drinks with the party of Eulogius, for dinner, and for a visit to the baths. Lunch the next day, Epeiph 27, was taken at a place known only by the two letters that survive of its name, "Sk[. . .]." Such a place cannot be found in the topographical evidence. If it is a place-name at all, it was presumably a minor station on the road to Laodicea, where in turn a long list of items was purchased, including foam of nitre in preparation for another visit to the baths (not extant in the incomplete entry). A purchase of wine for dinner is noted, and drinks for the slaves, as well as olive oil in both qualities, fine bread, figs, an item that may or may not be gourds, nuts, and (in one of only four occasions in the entire memoranda) onions. Since part of the entry is fragmentary and we cannot be sure that the missing lines did not include firewood, it is impossible to know whether or not the party cooked for itself.

On Epeiph 28 lunch and dinner are again mentioned separately, though the places where these meals were taken are not stated nor the place where the party stayed the night; at the corresponding point of the outward journey it was Balanea.⁶ One item bought for lunch on this day was a sextarius of wine, another is not extant on the papyrus; for dinner two fine loaves were bought together with "wine for dinner with Theon and the party of Hermodorus," and, at 100 dr., more loaves, which, from their price and the plural form of the entry, must have

6. *PRyl.* 627, verso col. viii, lines 329–30. The distance Balanea–Laodicea is there given as thirty-four Roman miles.

been common loaves for the slave attendants.⁷ An additional sum of 600 dr. for “ordinary wine for the boys” may have covered both meals of the day. A purchase of two pounds of meat and some firewood shows that on this occasion the main part of the evening meal was cooked and that, at least for Theophanes and his guests, it involved a course of meat.

Epeiph 29 is almost entirely missing from the record, which means that for a moment we lose sight of the progress of Theophanes’ journey. It might have comprised the twenty-four-mile stage from Balanea to Antarados, since the next major settlement mentioned in the itineraries, Arcae, is thirty miles further along the road. The most likely journey stage for Epeiph 30 is then likely to have been the forty-six miles from Antarados to Tripolis.⁸ On this day Theophanes bought wine for lunch and a further sextarius of wine, possibly for dinner, provided for drinks with the party of Hermodorus as well as purchasing two fine loaves for dinner with Theon and Hermodorus, thus repeating the social arrangements of two days earlier; and two trotters. The presence of firewood as well as gourds in the accounts for this day shows that, again, the party cooked for itself in its lodging. Wherever it was, Theophanes attended the baths with Hermodorus and his party and (if it is a correct understanding of the text) recorded some expenditure in the lodging afterward.

The next day, Mesore 1, found Theophanes first at Theouprosopon and then at Biblos, where purchases of wine are accounted both for lunch (taken on the road, if not at Theouprosopon) and for dinner at Biblos. The memoranda for this day are quite elaborate. Apart from the usual fine and common bread they record purchases of gourds and firewood to show that again the evening meal included cooked items; also olive oil and, at 400 dr., fresh fish, if this is what is meant by the new word *exatilia*. In any case the sum spent on them is a large one, the largest extant in the record except for the 1,000 dr. spent on *exatilia* and some other item at a place beyond Sidon, probably Tyre. The presence of “boiled trotters and head” at Biblos is clearly for the evening meal, which leaves it uncertain whether the “four cuts of meat” listed at Theouprosopon were intended for lunch or, as is more likely, were bought there and kept back for dinner. This evening at Biblos has the air of quite a lavish occasion, for it was here that Theophanes bought his snow-water and paid 200 dr. for a visit to the baths.

The nights of Mesore 2–5, for which the memoranda are incomplete, were probably spent at Berytus, Sidon (which is certain for Mesore 3), Tyre, and Ptolemais. On Mesore 6, wine for lunch was bought at an unnamed staging post, or *allagē*,⁹ and mention of a *tabernion* shows that the night was spent in lodging at Caesarea; within a few lines, Theophanes has given us

7. Since 100 dr. bought only a single loaf of refined bread.

8. Tr[ipolis] may possibly be read in the draft itinerary at *P.Ryl.* 638.6; Roberts, p. 149.

9. There exists a partial draft itinerary of Theophanes’ homeward route (*P.Ryl.* 638), the chief point of interest of which is that it names two places, Botrys and Sykaminos (Tel Shiqmona, or Haifa), that are not listed in the outward itinerary, and another, Betaros (Betthar), that is there called simply by the word for staging post, *allagē* (the Latin *mutatio*) rather than by its proper name. The travel memoranda for the return journey call this place by both names, “the *allagē* of Betaros,” no doubt to distinguish it from an

Greek terms for the Latin *mutatio* and *mansio*, the two main facilities for travelers on the imperial highway.¹⁰ At Caesarea, Theophanes spent some money, possibly on drinks, in the lodging with Dion and Hermodorus, but the six missing lines in this entry hide some large expenditures; only 1,200 of 4,000 dr. spent on the day are accounted for in the extant entries. On Mesore 7 three fine loaves were bought for lunch with the party of Hermodorus at Betaros, and three more for dinner at Antipatris. The quantity of six pounds of meat also bought at Betaros must have been reserved for dinner in the evening on this or the following day. It is difficult to imagine it was consumed on the road.

The next day, Mesore 8, matches that spent at Theouprosopon and Biblos in the detail of its accounts; it is one of the fullest and most informative in the entire memoranda and is presented in more detail in chapter 8 for its relevance to the diet of Theophanes and his party. The records for the day cover the journey stage from Antipatris to Ascalon, with a lunchtime stop at Abella.¹¹ The list of things bought at Abella includes fine bread, a little meat, wine and vermouth, and a large purchase of common loaves, wine, and a cut of meat for the slave attendants, while there was a particularly carefree trip to the market at Ascalon—more loaves, eggs, *exatilia*, fish sauce, reduced wine and vinegar, leeks, gourds, firewood for cooking, and a whole range of fruits for dessert. The sum of 5,200 dr. (rather than the inaccurate 6,300 dr. recorded in the memoranda) is unusually high, and it looks as if all members of the party, slave as well as free, were able to enjoy a fine dinner at Ascalon.

On Mesore 9 the party proceeded to Raphia, where it stayed the night, and where all the day's expenditure was accounted. The relatively long list of purchases, beginning with fine and common bread in the same amounts as preceding days, suggests that not much was left over from the previous evening's dinner at Ascalon. Theophanes accounted separately for "wine for those at lunch with the party of Hermodorus" and wine to Theophanes himself for dinner, as well as more vermouth, drinks for the other members of the party and for Dion and Alexandros. Goat meat makes its first and only appearance in the memoranda, together with the fish known as *chrysophrys*, or gilt-head, as well as *exatilia*. Grapes and melon take the place of the wide variety of fruits listed at Ascalon, and there was cheese, for lunch or dinner (or both).

The character of the journey now changes, as Theophanes and his party tackled the barren stretch of road between Rhinocolura and Pelusium by way of Ostrakine and Kasion. After a group of entries mentioning both lunch and dinner on Mesore 10, we find "other provisions for

unnamed staging post that appears just a few lines earlier. All three places, Botrys, Sykaminos, and Betaros, are found in the itinerary of the Bordeaux pilgrim (above, chapter 4).

10. *Tabernion*, for *mansio*, is itself a Latin word transliterated into Greek; cf. appendix 2, note on 627.293.

11. In his comments on this line and on *P.Ryl.* 627.329 (p. 124), Roberts identifies Abella with the Ibella/Gebala (or Gabala) of the outward itinerary, but this is entirely wrong. Ibella/Gabala was between Balanea and Laodicea, but we are now between Antipatris and Ascalon. Abella should be sought somewhere in the region of Lydda and Iamneia.

the journey to the second *mansio*,” followed by ordinary olive oil, wine, and eggs. On Mesore 11 lunch, including some grapes, was taken at Ostrakine, and dinner with cheese and *exatilia* at Kasion. Late in the day on Mesore 13 Theophanes reached the important city of Pelusium, at the mouth of the eastern branch of the Nile that bore its name. He might have hoped to rest here, but again he had to prepare for a desert journey, this time the road inland from Pelusium to Heliopolis; I suggested earlier that he had to take this route in order to avoid the inundations of the Nile, now at their height.¹² The accounts for Mesore 13 record a long list of provisions for the journey, after which we lose track of Theophanes’ daily routine except for the purchase of snails¹³ for lunch on that day, and of fodder for the pack animals on Mesore 15, between otherwise unknown places (but see below) called Kabaseitos and Kenai.

At this point, as Theophanes’ movements become difficult to follow, we may look for assistance to a supplementary source, the Antonine Itinerary mentioned earlier, in which are listed two routes that, taken together, give us his itinerary, if not its precise stages, for this last part of his journey.¹⁴ The first is a southwesterly route from Pelusium via Daphnae and Heliopolis to Memphis, which it reaches by a crossing of the Nile north of Babylon without passing through that city. The missing last stage of Theophanes’ journey is provided by the second route, which runs from Babylon to Heliopolis and there joins the first route in the reverse direction as far as Thou, where it strikes out on an easterly track that does not concern us.¹⁵ The two routes can be shown as follows (the second in reverse order, to restore the direction of Theophanes’ travel):

162.5 Pelusium–Memphis	123		
6 Daphnae	[16]		
163.1 Tacasarta	18		
2 Thou	14	170.1 Thou	
		169.5 Vicus Iudaeorum	12
3 Scenae Veteranorum	26	4 Scenae Veteranorum	12
4 Heliopolis	14	3 Heliopolis	18
5 Memphis	24	2 Babylon	12

In the first route there is a discrepancy between the overall distance from Pelusium to Memphis, 123 miles, and the sum of the distances between the stages, which gives only 112

12. The *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, map 74, shows the extent of inundation as reaching right up to the line of the road now taken by Theophanes.

13. “For the boys,” as a draft of the account says (630*.505, with the comments in appendix 2).

14. *Itin. Ant.* 162.5–163.5, 169.2–170.1; ed. Cuntz, *Itineraria*, pp. 22–23.

15. Thou (Tohu in the *Notitia Dignitatum*) stood at the head of the Wadi Tumilât, the easterly course of an ancient waterway leading from the Nile by way of the Bitter Lakes to Clysma. At least in the later period, it held the Cohors Prima Augusta Pannoniorum listed at *Not. Dig.*, Or. 28.41.

miles. The simplest solution is to amend the distance from Pelusium to the known site of Daphnae, which is about 25 English miles. A revised mileage of 27 Roman miles from Pelusium to Daphnae will restore consistency to the figures (without, of course, guaranteeing their accuracy). We then replace the distance from Heliopolis to Memphis (24 miles) in the first route by that from Babylon to Heliopolis (12 miles) in the second, to give the overall distance from Pelusium to Babylon as 111 Roman miles. This is very close to the true figure as the crow flies and is probably not a serious understatement of the actual traveling distance along the straight roads that ran over this flat terrain.

Including both Mesore 13, the day after his arrival at Pelusium, and Mesore 16, the day of his arrival at Babylon, Theophanes devoted four days to this part of his journey. He mentions only two places on the road, Kabaseitos on Mesore 14 and Kenai on the following day, both of which are otherwise unknown. It would, however, be surprising if, in such a sparsely settled district, neither place was listed in the Antonine Itinerary, and Theophanes' "Kenae" raises an interesting possibility, given the outpost called Scenae Veteranorum ("Veterans' Camp") mentioned in both routes of the Antonine Itinerary, at a distance of fourteen or eighteen miles from Heliopolis. With a further twelve miles to Babylon, this would make a comfortable final day's journey, and I think it more than likely that Scenae Veteranorum is the (S)kenai of Theophanes' itinerary.¹⁶

As to the earlier stages of Theophanes' journey from Pelusium, much depends on whether he left early on Mesore 13 prepared for a very long day on the road, or whether the business formalities he had to perform there, such as the payment to the *magisterion*, entailed a later departure and an easier day. In the latter case he might have reached Daphnae on the evening of Mesore 13. The evening—assuming it was then that he shared drinks with Hermodorus—of the following day would have found him at Kabaseitos. This at least was the reading of the place-name offered by Roberts. However, he noted it as insecure at two points, including the initial letter, and in truth it can hardly be read on the papyrus. Perhaps it is the same as the Tacasarta of the Antonine Itinerary.¹⁷ It is located not very far from Daphnae and would make a short day's journey, but the distance may well be an underestimate. From Tacasarta to Scenae Veteranorum, according to the itinerary, was a total of up to forty miles by way of Vicus (or Castra) Iudaeorum—a long but by no means impossible day's journey for Mesore 15.¹⁸ After (S)kenai, as we have seen, Theophanes reached Babylon on the evening of Mesore 16. He must have been very happy to see it.

The last really substantive entries in the memoranda, for Mesore 17, show a particularly

16. At Scenae Veteranorum were stationed the Equites Saraceni Thamudeni and the Ala Quinta Raetorum; *Not. Dig.*, Or. 18.17.30.

17. "Tacasiria" at *Not. Dig.*, Or. 28.39 (Ala Secunda Aegyptiorum).

18. A more evenly spaced itinerary would separate Kabaseitos from Tacasarta and locate it further south and nearer to (S)kenai. For Vicus (or Castra) Iudaeorum, see *Not. Dig.*, Or. 28.42 (Cohors Prima Epireorum, sc. Ituraeorum?).

intriguing set of payments at Babylon, where the sum of 2,600 drachmas is assigned to the expenses of a *koinon*, some sort of assembly or meeting of an association. The precise nature of the occasion escapes us, but it is likely that it was connected with the completion of Theophanes’ mission; it would balance the lengthy period spent at Babylon on the outward journey for planning and the preparation of the business to be conducted at Antioch.¹⁹ On the same day, Theophanes spent very large sums of money, totaling as much as a talent and 3,300 dr. on fine bread and wine, with an additional 400 drachmas on *absinthion*, or vermouth, on a purpose twice described, according to Roberts’s reading of the papyrus, by the abbreviated word *pleg*(), which he was unable to interpret. This is a case in which the remedy was not in speculation or searching the dictionaries but in a fresh look at the papyrus, upon which it became apparent that the letters read by Roberts as *pleg*() are actually an abbreviation of the word *ploi(on)* for a boat. Theophanes is laying in supplies for the riverboat that would take him back to Hermopolis—which, if we think back six long months to Phamenoth, is how we first met him at Babylon.²⁰

Toward the end of the accounts the entries become briefer, and for the last six days nothing is recorded except purchases of bread for Theophanes himself and “the boys.”²¹ This is explained by the fact that Theophanes was now traveling by riverboat with provisions on board. It was how he had come down to Babylon and was by far the most convenient way to make the return journey to Hermopolis. The last entry, of Mesore 23, is followed by a total of expenditure, written with a handsome flourish on the papyrus (fig. 6.1), to that point in the month. This does not conform to the usual five-day accounting periods and marks the end of the journey.

Following is Theophanes’ return itinerary from Antioch to Babylon and Hermopolis, with distances in Roman miles. It is based on the information given in the later part of *P.Ryl.* 630* combined with the outward itineraries presented in chapter 3 and supported by the Antonine and Bordeaux itineraries. Mileages not provided by Theophanes are shown in brackets.

Epeiph 26	Antioch–Daphne–Kata Hydata	14
" 27	Kata Hydata– “Sk[. . .]” –Laodicea	50
" 28	Laodicea–Ibella–?Balanea	34

19. On the previous day, Mesore 16 at Heliopolis, the accounts show the latest sum paid, in this case apparently to Theophanes himself, “for the agreement.” He is perhaps being repaid for some earlier expenditure of his own. A. K. Bowman, in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Marburg 1971* (1974), pp. 46–47, notes a possible revival in Egyptian *metropoleis* (chief cities) of a council of magistrates (*koinon tōn archontōn*) of earlier times, but this does not seem to fit well the present passage.

20. See the note on this line (531, cf. 536) in appendix 2. Another cautionary tale occurs at Ostrakine on Mesore 11 (line 475), with a payment of 300 dr. for something called *sambath*(). Interpreted by Roberts as possibly a payment to local Jewish funds and included as a reference to the Sabbath in the standard collection of Jewish papyri, it turns out to be a sort of pottery vessel!

21. In two places at the end of the accounts (lines 547 and 551) the word *hapalōn* (sc. *psōmiōn*) “soft,” is used for *katharōn*, “refined” bread. See chapter 7 and appendix 3.

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 6.1. *PRyl.* 633 cols. 5–6 (Mesore 12–23). Reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, John Rylands University Library, The University of Manchester.

"	29	?Balanea-?Antarados	24
"	30	?Antarados-Arcae-?Tripolis	46
Mesore	1	?Tripolis-Theouprosoyon-Botrys-Biblos	36
"	2	Biblos-Berytus	24
"	3	Berytus-Sidon	34
"	4	Sidon-Zanara-Tyre	36
"	5	Tyre-Ptolemais	45
"	6	Ptolemais-Sykaminos-Caesarea	44
"	7	Caesarea-Allage/Betaros-Antipatris	33
"	8	Antipatris-Lyddā-(Abella)-Iamnia-Ascalon	43
"	9	Ascalon-Gaza-Raphia	39
"	10	Raphia-Boutaphion-Rhinocolura	(34)
"	11	Rhinocolura-Ostrakine-Kasion	50
"	12	Kasion-Pentaschoinon-Geras-Pelusium	37
"	13	Pelusium-?Daphnae	(27)
"	14	?Daphnae-Kabaseitos (Tacasarta?)	(18)
"	15	?Tacasarta-Kenai (Scenae Veteranorum?)	(40)
"	16	(S)kenai-Heliopolis-Babylon	(26/30)
"	17	at Babylon	
"	18-23	(by boat) Babylon-Ampelon-Hermopolis	

Translation of *P.Ryl.* 630*.237-558

The translated text resumes from the last section of Chapter 5, repeating the six lines showing Theophanes at Kata Hydata on the evening of his departure from Antioch. The date is Epeiph 26:

237 at Kata Hy[data]

price of win[e for drinks wi]th [the party of?] Eulogi[os

to us, for d[inner

for the ba[th

Total for the day [

243-62 (Epeiph) 27

at Sk[. . . (??)

to you, for lun[ch

at Laodic[ea

o[rdinary] olive oil [

foam of nitr[e

to [Th]eon the *officialis* fo[r. . .

o]nions [

[line 251 fragmentary]

fin[e loave]s [

[lines 253-54 fragmentary]

(fresh) [fi]gs

[] dr.

fine [oli]ve oil, xestai [

[flatb]read (?)

[. . .] and nuts and

[. . .] (*sing.*) for the fra[t . . . ??] 400 dr.

[wine?] for you (*pl.*) for dinner 200 dr.

for [the] boys, to drink 300 dr.

[Total for t]he day 2, [...] dr.

263–76 (Epeiph) 28		[i]n the lodging, after the ba[t]h with	
fine [loaves], fo[r dinner]	200 dr.	the party of Her[mo]doros	[]
[meat], 2 lbs.	800 dr.	[co]st of wine, one xestēs	[]
[o]rdinary [wine] for the bo[ys]		[.], five	[]
	600 [dr.]	[fo]r drinks with the p[arty of	
[wine, fo]r lunch, one x(estēs)	400 [dr.]	Hermodoro]s (?)	[]
[lo]aves, for din[ner]	100 [dr.]	[lines 300–02 fragmentary]	
[. . .] for lunch	100 dr.	[. . . trot]ters, two	[]
[.] (<i>pl.</i>)	200 [dr.]	[Total] for the d[ay]	1 [tal.] [... dr.]
[	100 [dr.]	305–7 [Total ex]penses for the five days	
[.]	200 dr.	from 2[6th] to 30th inclusive	
fi[rewood . . .] from the same (<i>pl.</i>)		4 tal., 4,200 dr.	
	[] dr.		
wi[ne for] dinner with The[on and		[Some lines missing, then 309–10 gave	
the pa]rty of Hermodoros	200 dr.	(lost) total for the month. We now move	
Total [for the da]y	4,300 dr.	into the month of Mesore]:	

(277) [(Epeiph) 29]		311–34 (Mesore) 1	
		at Theouprosōpon	
	[c. 18 lines missing]	for us, cost of wine to drink [	
		four cuts of meat	[] dr.
277–82 [. . . for] drinking	400 dr.	at Biblos	
[. . .] (<i>sing.</i>)	200 dr.	three fine loaves	[300 dr.]
[. . .]	100 dr.	common loaves for the boys	500 dr.
[. . .]	400 dr.	grapes	100 dr.
m[elon]	100 dr.	[. . .] (<i>sing.</i>)	100 dr.
[Total for the day]	[n tal.] 1,000 dr.	gourds	100 dr.
		to you (<i>sing.</i>), wine for lunch [	
283–304 [(Epeiph) 30]		ordinary olive oil [	
[cost] of [fine] loav[es]	400 dr.	[. . .] cooked(?) trott[ers]	
comm[on] loaves for the [bo]ys	[	and [h]ead	[] dr.
g]rapes and cucumbers	100 [dr.]	[. . .] for [. . .] (??)	
f[i]rewood	100 [dr.]	fire[wood]	
eggs	300 dr.	kem[ia]	
wine for you (<i>sing.</i>), for lunch	200 dr.	wi[ne, for] din[ner]	800 dr.
two fine [loav]es for din[ner with]		to the attend[ants, fo]r the bath	200 dr.
Theon and Hermod[oros]		[line 330 fragmentary]	
[go]urds and cucumbers [		snow-water	100 dr.

<i>exatilia</i>	400 dr.	365–68 [. . .] . [. . .]	
entrance fee for [. . .](??)		[.]	
Total for the day	1 tal. 100 dr.	[a]nd <i>exatilia</i>	1,000 dr.
		Total for [th]e day	3,700 dr.

335–47 (Mesore) 2

three fine loaves [		369–81 [(Mesore) 5]	
co[mmo]n loaves for the boys [		[. . .] to me personally	
gourds [		[. . .]	100 dr.
grapes [		[. . .]	100 dr.
(fresh) figs [		[mel]on	100 dr.
soap [		[. . .] (<i>pl.</i>)	100 dr.
peaches and ap[ricots](?)		[?ba]th	300 dr.
oil for the bath	[] dr.	[in t]he lodging	
foam of nitre	[] dr.	with the party of Eulogios	300 dr.
<i>exatilia</i>	[?400] dr.	foam of nitre	100 dr.
firewood	100 dr.	<i>kemia</i>	100 dr.
Total for [the d]ay	2,300 dr.	<i>exatilia</i>	400 dr.
		firewood	100 dr.
		Total for the day	3,700 dr.

349–64 (Mesore) 3

at Sidon		382–84 Total for [the] five days from	
common loaves for the boys	600 dr.	1st to 5th in[clusive]	3 tal. 2,400 dr.
grapes	100 dr.		
vinegar	200 dr.	385–98 (Mesore) 6	
cumin	100 dr.	[at the st]aging post	
firewood	200 dr.	[cost] of wine for lunch	300 dr.
green vegetables	100 dr.	[. . .] dish	300 dr.
ordin[a]ry olive oil	400 dr.	at Caes[are]a	
foam of nitre	100 dr.	[ord]inary ol[ive oil]	400 dr.
for the bat[h]	300 dr.	[<i>lines 390–93 fragmentary</i>]	
to you (<i>sing.</i>), [for. . .(?)]	400 dr.	[. . .]	100 dr.
<i>kemia</i>	100 dr.	[. . .]	100 dr.
eggs	200 dr.	[in th]e lodging wi[th	
<i>exatil[ia]</i>	400 dr.	Dio]n and Hermodoros	[] dr.
Total [for the day]	3,200 dr.	Total for the d[ay]	4,000 dr.

(364) [(Mesore) 4][*c. 10 lines missing*]**399–407** (Mesore) 7

at the sta[g]ing po[st] of Bētaros
 f[ine] loaves for lunch with
 the party of Hermodoros 300 dr.

common loaves for the boys	800 dr.	436–53 (Mesore) 9	
meat, 6 lbs.	1,200 dr.	at Raphia	
at Antipatris		fine loaves	300 dr.
three fine loaves for dinner	300 dr.	common loaves for the boys	800 dr.
bean soup for the boys	200 dr.	vermouth	200 dr.
Total for the day	2,800 dr.	wine, for those at lunch with	
		the party of Hermodoros	600 dr.
403–35 (Mesore) 8		goat meat	300 dr.
at Abella		grapes	100 dr.
vermouth	200 dr.	melon	100 dr.
loaves for us, for lunch	200 dr.	gourds	100 dr.
pork(?) meat	100 dr.	sycamore figs	100 dr.
wine, for lunch	200 dr.	gilt-heads, two	300 dr.
common loaves for the boys	800 dr.	cheeses	200 dr.
for the same, for wine and		wine for dinner, to you (<i>sing.</i>)	300 dr.
a cut of meat	200 dr.	to us, for drinks for the boys	
at Ascalon		and for Dion and Alexandros	500 dr.
fine loaves, for dinner	300 dr.	<i>exatilia</i>	200 dr.
grapes	100 dr.	Total for the day	[4,100 dr.]
(fresh) figs	100 dr.		
peaches	100 dr.	454–67 (Mesore) 10	
apples	100 dr.	at Rhinokorour[a]	
[. . .]	100 dr.	four loaves	400 dr.
leeks	100 dr.	common loaves for the boys	400 dr.
reduced wine	400 dr.	[pe]aches	200 dr.
plum[s]	300 dr.	gourds	100 dr.
more peaches, [by ch]oice (?)	100 dr.	cucumbers	100 dr.
ordinary [wi]ne	500 dr.	eggs for dinner	400 dr.
[f]ish sauce, one xestēs	200 dr.	to you (<i>pl.</i>), wine for lunch	1,400 dr.
vinegar	200 dr.	more loaves fo[r th]e journey	
gourds	100 dr.	to the 2nd way station	1,200 dr.
<i>kemia</i>	100 dr.	ordinary olive oil	400 dr.
firewood	100 dr.	wine for the journey, four	
eggs	200 dr.	metrētai	1,800 dr.
<i>exatilia</i>	400 dr.	eggs for the journey	400 dr.
Total for the day	6,300 dr.(?)	Total for the day	1 tal. 2,800 dr.

468–69 Total for the five days from
6th to [10th] inclusive 5 [tal.] 400 dr.

470–81 (Mesore) 11		ordinary olive oil	500 dr.
at Ostrakine		Total for the day	5,600 dr.
grapes for lunch	200 dr.		
che[es]es	200 dr.	508–13 (Mesore) 14	
c[u]cumbers	100 dr.	at Kabaseitos (Tacasarta?)	
for one pot	300 dr.	cost of (fresh) fish	200 dr.
<i>exatilia</i>	100 dr.	to you (<i>sing.</i>) for drinks with	
at Kasion		Hermodoros	400 dr.
cheeses for dinner	300 dr.	Total for the day	600 dr.
ordinary olive oil	500 dr.		
<i>exatilia</i>	200 dr.	514–21 (Mesore) 15	
Total for the day	1,900 dr.	fodder for the pack animals	400 dr.
		at (S)kenai	
482–90 (Mesore) 12		one xestēs of wine	300 dr.
at Pentaschoinos		to you (<i>sing.</i>), for two wine cups	
cost of olives	200 dr.	for the same	200 dr.
gilt-heads	100 dr.	(fresh) figs	100 dr.
at Pelousion		loaves	100 dr.
cost of sycamore figs	200 dr.	Total for the day	1,100 dr.
[l]eeks	100 dr.	522–23 Total expenses for the five	
loaves for the bo[ys]	500 [dr.]	days from 10th to 15th inclusive	
Total for the day	1,000 dr.		1 tal. 4,200 dr.
491–507 (Mesore) 13		524–29 (Mesore) 16	
four fine lo[a]ves f[or th]e		at Helio(polis)	
[jou]rney	400 dr.	for the agreement [],	
co[mmon] loaves for the boys	1,200 dr.	to you (<i>sing.</i>)	1,000 dr.
fish sauce	[] dr.	at Babylon, green veg.	100 dr.
vineg[a]r	200 [dr.]	cost of <i>raphan[os]</i> oil, 5 [xestai?]	100 dr.
cheeses	200 [dr.]	Total for the day	1,200 dr.
pickled fish	200 [dr.]		
eggs for the journey	400 [dr.]	530–39 (Mesore) 17	
to the <i>m[a]gisterion</i>	[] dr.	fine loaves for the b[oa]t	1,000 dr.
firewood	200 [dr.]	grapes	200 dr.
nuts	100 dr.	one knidion of wine, through Aōros	
cost of a Silenus from			1,700 dr.
Tyre for wine	1,600 dr.	vermouth, through Aōros	400 dr.
snails for lunch (for the boys?)	100 dr.	another knidion of wine,	
		through Hermes	1,500 dr.

cost of wine, two for the boat	1 tal.	548–49 Total expenses for	
and for expenses of the <i>koinon</i>	2,600 dr.	the five days from 16th to	
common loaves for the boys	400 dr.	20th inclusive	2 tal. 4,000 dr.
Total for the day	2 tal. 1,600 dr.		
540–43 (Mesore) 18		550–51 (Mesore) 21	
cost of cheeses for the boys	200 dr.	soft loaves through Piōx	300 dr.
common loaves	600 dr.	552–54 (Mesore) 22	
Total for the day	800 dr.	at Ampelōn	
		loaves for the boys	400 dr.
[For Mesore 19–23 there are no daily		555–56 (Mesore) 23	
totals. The total for the month is written		loaves for the boys	200 dr.
at the end in prominent large letters]:			
544–45 (Mesore) 19		557–58 Total expenses from 1st to	
common loaves for the boys	200 dr.	23rd inclusive	11 tal. 5,900 dr.
546–47 [(Mesore) 20]			
soft loaves	200 dr.		

7 Costs and Prices

The Edict on Maximum Prices

THE MASS OF EVIDENCE ABOUT costs and prices contained in the Theophanes memorandum is remarkable for its range and variety and for its connection to a specific period and geographical area. It is still more remarkable that, from a time just twenty years before Theophanes' journey, we possess what is probably the most important single item of evidence for the economic history of the Roman empire at large, the *Edict on Maximum Prices* promulgated by the emperor Diocletian in late November or early December 301.¹ Though pronounced ineffective by Christian opponents of the persecuting emperor (a verdict with which, for this and other reasons, modern scholars have generally agreed), the edict deserves respect as a brave attempt to address the problem of monetary inflation that had bedeviled the Roman empire in the preceding half century. In its thirty-seven numbered sections and hundreds of entries, the edict lists an astonishing range of products, commodities and raw materials, wages, services and transport costs, and the maximum prices allowed for them—a treasure trove of information for the economic and social historian and an extraordinary monument to bureaucratic devotion. The relevance of the edict to Theophanes is both one of time and of place. The inscriptions from which its text is reconstructed come from more than forty sites in the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, and a good case can be made for Antioch as the administrative center in which it was compiled. That is where the emperor resided in the

1. See esp. Simon Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government, AD 284–324* (1996), chapter 8; for the date, p. 206.

period of time during which the edict would have been prepared, and other arguments point to the same conclusion.²

The evidence contained in the *Edict on Maximum Prices* makes it central to any discussion of late Roman economic history, but it harbors many difficulties. In the first place, although the range of items listed in the edict is comprehensive, its system of pricing is extremely simple. It consists mainly of round numbers such as 4 den., 10 den., 12 den., or 24 den. attached to basic measurements of quantity, often applied to whole categories of goods in what seems to be a thoroughly indiscriminating manner. It has been noted, for example, that in the section of the edict (§6) devoted to vegetables and other foodstuffs—especially relevant to Theophanes—sixty-nine of the ninety-six entries are priced at 4 den.³ The method is hardly sophisticated but in practice is not as crude as it seems; more precise adjustments are possible with the quantities of produce available for this notional monetary sum, which seems to have been chosen as a basic measurement for its convenience in terms of the currency. As Simon Corcoran points out, items, of which there are a few, priced theoretically at one or two denarii would usually have been sold in much larger quantities. In fact, as we saw in chapter 5, the denarius was itself by now a nonexistent coin, the denomination being used as a “ghost currency” requiring conversion into the actual currency in use. In the currency available at the time of the edict, which follows within a matter of months a reform of the coinage, it is likely that the smallest available denomination was a coin of two (possibly four) denarii, with coins of higher value set at 25 and 100 den.⁴

As we read in its preamble, the aim of the edict was not total price control but merely the establishment of maxima. There was naturally no objection to prices falling below these levels if conditions were favorable, and the emperor expressed the hope that they would do so. There is, however, no sign that the compilers of the edict considered the circumstances in which this might happen, such as seasonal or other variations in the supply of commodities

2. Ibid., pp. 206, 215–19. See the fine edition and commentary by S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* (1971); also M. Giaccherio, *Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium* (1974). There is a useful English translation of the text as it then stood, by E. R. Graser, in Tenney Frank (ed.), *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. 5 (1940), pp. 305–421.

3. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, p. 226 n. 120, citing J. M. Frayn, *Markets and Fairs in Roman Italy: Their Social and Economic Importance from the Second Century BC to the Third Century AD* (1993), pp. 63–64.

4. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, pp. 214–15, 228–29 (4, 25, and 100 denarii). The evidence for the coinage reform is a fragmentary inscription from Aphrodisias, on which I prefer the interpretation of K. W. Harl, “Marks of value on Tetrarchic Nummi and Diocletian’s Monetary Policy,” *Phoenix* 39 (1985), pp. 263–70, at 264 n. 6, to that of the publishers of the inscription, Kenan T. Erim, Joyce Reynolds, and Michael Crawford, “Diocletian’s Currency Reform: a new inscription,” *JRS* 61 (1971), pp. 171–77, at 176f. For the equivalence of 4 denarii with the sum of 100 drachmas occurring frequently in Theophanes’ memoranda, see below.

and foodstuffs. Some products, like textiles and manufactured goods, are inherently durable, others, like grains, can be stored, others, such as meat and fish, can to a certain extent be preserved, thereby easing out variations of supply and price, but many commodities do not possess these advantages. Evidence from papyri reveals wide variations in the prices of foodstuffs within a single year, for reasons that are unknown to us but are part of everyday experience in an agricultural economy.⁵ It has also been argued that the maxima proposed by the edict tended, even at the time of promulgation, to understate actual market prices. Calculations of the rate of inflation for the period 301–60 give a higher figure when the prices of the edict are included than when they are omitted, which would confirm a natural suspicion that the edict understated current price levels as part of its attempt to restrain them in the future.⁶

Given these and other difficulties, it is not surprising to find it doubted whether the price levels in the edict ever bore much relation to economic reality.⁷ This is unduly skeptical, though we should heed the warning that the economic situation expressed by the text is one that is affected by the disposition and aims of the government that prepared it. In all, the edict has the look of a “desk job,” its compilation possibly guided by tax records, customs lists, declarations of prices by trading guilds, and other such documents accessible to the imperial authorities, but not suggesting much in the way of direct research.⁸ It seems unlikely that the drafters of the edict were emboldened to sally forth from their offices into local markets, to see what prices were actually being charged for the commodities they listed with such religious care.

And finally, to bring the argument back to Theophanes, to apply the evidence of the edict to an economic situation of a later time, even over a period as short as twenty years, encounters the considerable problem of price inflation in the period after its promulgation—that inflation which, according to the hostile accounts of the edict mentioned above, led to its failure and abandonment.

This difficult question cannot be evaded; on the contrary, it should be turned to advantage. As Roger Bagnall observes, attempts to chart the progress of inflation in the fourth century are to be found in any economic historian who has seriously attempted to describe this period.⁹ One of the most recent is Bagnall’s own analysis of Egyptian prices recorded in the papyri, in which he works out for a range of products an “inflation factor” that may then be used to provide a single index of measurement for the prices of the precious metals and

5. *P.Oxy.* 54 (1987), no. 3773 (c. 340), with R. A. Coles’s commentary, ad loc.

6. Coles, at pp. 232–38.

7. R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire; Quantitative Studies* (2nd ed., 1982), p. 367, in comments picked up by other writers, for example, Coles, p. 233; Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, pp. 225–26.

8. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, pp. 219–21. For declarations by trading guilds, see the commentary and analyses published by Coles, pp. 230–40, with his notes on the individual papyri.

9. *Currency and Inflation*, p. 2 (citing Mickwitz, West, and Johnson, Rémondon).

other commodities to which we have references. Bagnall's discussion sets out the arguments very clearly, and its treatment of the evidence is extremely careful. It aims at a higher level of particularity than we need for the Theophanes memoranda, and its link with the numismatic evidence is highly technical. The outcome is supportive, however; it rests on the proposition that the increase in commodity prices revealed in the papyri was essentially a monetary phenomenon, as expressed in the exchange rate between the common bronze and the high value gold and silver coinages in use. There is no obvious reason why a change in the value of the bronze coinage in relation to gold and silver should have discriminated between the different commodities it was used to purchase.¹⁰

The difficulties are still formidable. Not many commodities provide enough prices over a period to indicate a trend, and it will often happen that higher (and occasionally lower) prices occur because of reasons unconnected with the currency, for example, seasonal variations. The base figure from which a calculation is made may be untypical, while many of the papyrus documents containing prices are independently datable only by the judgment of their editors within a range of years. Then, the recorded prices of commodities are often not the open market prices. They may be prices declared by the government for its own purchases, and so be understated, or commodity prices offered to taxpayers for commutation into cash payments, in which case they will be inflated, since here too they will reflect the government's interest rather than the taxpayer's; or they may be wholesale prices paid by guilds for raw materials, or forward prices for future delivery, to which an interest charge must be added to give the market price.

Despite the problems, it is worth trying to establish a general level of inflation between the time of Diocletian's edict and that of Theophanes' journey. In estimating the quantities of produce bought by Theophanes for the sums given in his memoranda, it will make a difference whether prices had increased by five or by ten or twenty times since the edict, and it is only with this in mind that the following estimates are given. From the material on prices assembled by Bagnall I have taken only that with specifically attested dates between 301 and 324; I exclude texts whose date is itself inferred from the price levels recorded in them,¹¹ and to avoid circularity of reasoning I naturally exclude the Theophanes archive itself. To provide comparisons, I extrapolate those price increases over the longer or shorter periods which

10. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation*, p. 2: "These changes in price levels [in the papyri] can be shown, I believe, to be direct reflections of the monetary history of the fourth century. . . . [They] are principally a result of changes in the metallic content of money and not an independent phenomenon."

11. I note Bagnall's observation (*Currency and Inflation*, p. 2, citing Wessely) that price levels are a valid criterion in dating documents, but having been dated on this criterion the documents cannot then be used to establish price levels.

happen to be recorded, into a notional period of twenty years (say, 301–21).¹² Sequences of usable figures for this restricted period are available for gold, silver, wheat, and barley. Figures are also listed by Bagnall for other products such as wine, flax, and beans, but these are less useful. In some cases they are extremely sketchy and distorted by the fact that the recorded figures are not market prices but forward prices subject to interest payments on delivery. Prices of wine, of which many are attested, are subject to such fundamental variations as the quality of the wine and the character of the vintage, not to mention the various units of measurement in use.

Gold. The price of gold rose from 48 talents per lb. in the edict of Diocletian (it had been 40 tal. in 300) to 100 tal. in 310, and 168 or 209 tal. in 324, these two figures being recorded in successive months. Two much higher figures, of 288 tal. and 312 tal. in texts of 317/18 and 318, seem to be open market prices higher than the price set by the government. The calculations based on these figures come out as follows:

- (a) 48–100 tal. over 301–10 shows an increase of $\times 2.08$ over 9 years, or $\times 4.6$ over 20 years;
- (b) 48–168 tal. over 301–24 shows an increase of $\times 3.5$ over 23 years, or $\times 3.04$ over 20 years;
- (c) 48–209 tal. over 301–24 shows an increase of $\times 4.35$ over 23 years, or $\times 3.78$ over 20 years;
- (d) 48–288 tal. over 301–17 shows an increase of $\times 6$ over 16 years, or $\times 7.5$ over 20 years
- (e) 48–312 tal. over 301–18 shows an increase of $\times 6.5$ over 17 years, or $\times 7.65$ over 20 years.

The rates of increase in (d) and (e) are probably too high, since they combine an open market price with one set by the government; we do not know from what market value the figure given by the edict of Diocletian is a reduction.¹³ If the figure of 40 tal. from 300—the year before the edict—is set beside the higher of the two official figures from 324, the result is

- (f) 40–209 tal. over 300–24 shows an increase of $\times 5.23$ over 24 years, or $\times 4.36$ over 20 years.

An increase in the price of gold of the order of $\times 5$ over the period 301–21 seems best to reflect the evidence.

12. For the figures in what follows, see Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation*, chap. 9 (pp. 61–72—omitting all figures with italicized dates, which are assigned as an inference from prices), adding the new material listed by Bagnall in *The Kellis Agricultural Account Book* (1997), pp. 225–29.

13. Cf. the observations of Coles (above, n. 7).

Silver. Only two prices are on record from the period, and they are close together in time: 4 tal. per lb. in 301 and 5.33 tal. in 306. This shows an increase of $\times 1.33$ over 5 years, or $\times 5.32$ over 20 years. As we would expect, the increase is very close to that in the price of gold. The price of both gold and silver rises sharply in subsequent years, but that does not affect their usefulness in interpreting the Theophanes memoranda.

Wheat. Prices rising from 640 dr. per artaba in 301 to 852 dr. in 303, 1,200 dr. in 305 and 3,000 dr. per artaba in 315 show a steady increase of $\times 4.7$ over 14 years, or $\times 6.7$ over 20 years. Apart from a price of 1 tal. 2,000 dr. (sc. 8,000 dr.) per artaba recorded for 314, a figure described by Bagnall as “bizarre,”¹⁴ the increase is not contradicted by any recorded price known to fall within the period 305–15. The price of wheat can be volatile and open to local variations, but the figures leave us within the parameters established by gold and silver. The price of *barley* is exceptional, for it had risen only from the equivalent of 760 dr. per artaba in the prices edict to 1,000 dr. per artaba in 315 and 316, a notional rate of increase of just $\times 1.3$ over 15 years. A price of 540 dr. per artaba in 303 is even lower than the figure given in the edict.¹⁵

The inference that during the years 301–21 the price of precious metals and other commodities rose by $\times 5$ or a little more seems sufficiently well-founded to apply, with all due caution, to the prices given in the Theophanes memoranda. In general terms it is endorsed by papyrologists’ acceptance of the view that the decade after Diocletian’s edict saw a doubling of prices.¹⁶ A fivefold increase of prices over a twenty-year period can be reduced to an annual inflation rate of just 8 percent (10 percent yields a sevenfold increase). After the monetary collapse of the third century, this was a creditable achievement—many a government in modern times would be well satisfied to achieve such a response to a period of hyperinflation. It would be naive to attribute it entirely to the prices edict rather than to other factors such as a reformed currency and in general to more stable political conditions, but it is clear that to write off the edict as a total failure is much too hasty a judgment.

In what follows we shall look for an inflation rate of about five times the prices set out in the edict, without being surprised by rates of increase a point or two on each side of this figure.

14. *Currency and Inflation*, p. 32. The conversions assume that 1 artaba = 3 modii castrenses, so that the figure of 100 den. per modius castrensis in the prices edict (1.1a) is equivalent to 300 den. (1,200 dr.) per artaba. This is actually higher than the market prices recorded for 301 and 303 and is a level reached only in 305.

15. A. E. R. Boak and H. C. Youtie, *The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus* (1960) (= *PCair.Isid.* no. 58), p. 237; *P. Vindob.* G 13135.19 (cf. Bagnall, *The Kellis Agricultural Account Book*, p. 226). In the case of beans, allowing for the reservations expressed above about forward prices, and with the exclusion of some outlying figures of possibly different products in 312, a calculation of the extant figures yields an increase of $\times 5$ over a notional twenty-year period.

16. See the comments in *POxy.* 17.2106, note on line 20, and in *PCair.Isid.* no. 10, p. 92 (the price of chaff rose $\times 2\frac{2}{3}$ between 301 and 311).

Food Costs in Theophanes

It is important to recognize both the possibilities and the problems inherent in the interpretation of the *Edict on Maximum Prices*, in order to understand the terms in which it can help us to understand the information on prices given in the Theophanes archive.

In the first place, without raising the question of inflation the edict may indicate the *relative* prices set for different qualities of the same product. The price differential may then be used to estimate quantities in Theophanes' accounts, in cases where these are known for only one of the levels of quality for the item in question. For example, Theophanes gives quantity as well as price only for the finest quality of olive oil, but with the help of the price differential suggested by the edict we can estimate how much oil of standard quality he may have bought for the sums listed.

Second, if a consistent inflation factor can be found to apply, within the broad limits proposed here, across a range of goods, then the information in the edict can be used to estimate the quantities of these goods that are bought for the prices recorded in Theophanes' accounts. There is no reason to imagine that the *relative* cost of cucumbers and gourds, melons, olives, green vegetables, or fresh fruit changed much between the time of the edict and Theophanes' journey. Similar market conditions should apply to all.¹⁷

In what follows these guidelines are applied to some aspects of Theophanes' expenditures that his accounts leave undetermined. We begin with those staple items, bread, meat and fish, olive oil, and wine.¹⁸

Bread. Every day Theophanes bought bread in two qualities, distinguished by the same terms as those used for olive oil (see below): refined or white bread (*katharos*) and the ordinary or common variety (*kibarios*).¹⁹ It is clear from repeated annotations (for example, Pauni 4, 7–10, 22) that the cost of fine bread was 100 dr. for a single loaf, of which Theophanes usually bought two, three, or four a day. Sometimes, especially in Pachon and the early part of Pauni, he bought more (on Pauni 1 and 2 he bought no fewer than eight fine loaves), but as time passed he bought less, perhaps because as his business progressed he had less need to entertain guests for meals.²⁰ On several occasions he bought, at the same price of 100 dr., what the

17. It is pointed out that in a preindustrial economy, despite short-term fluctuations, the relative values of many staple commodities may remain constant over long periods of time; Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation*, p. 4.

18. The editions and translations mentioned in n. 2 above have been useful, and most especially the fine commentary of Lauffer on the edict and the articles of J. Kalleris ("Trophai kai Pota") and H.-J. Drexhage ("Ein Monat in Antiochia") on the Theophanes archive. Drexhage's account is, however, limited to Pauni; neither he nor Kalleris took into account *P.Ryl.* 639 on Pachon or invoked the evidence of the prices edict in a systematic way. For a listing of the figures throughout the memoranda, appendix 3.

19. On bread, Kalleris, "Trophai kai Pota," pp. 690–92; Drexhage, "Ein Monat in Antiochia," pp. 3–4. For bread and bread making in the ancient world, see the extremely informative book by Robert I. Curtis, *Ancient Food Technology* (2001), esp. pp. 279–93, 335–70.

20. Drexhage, "Ein Monat in Antiochia," p. 4, notes this decline (in both sorts of bread) but does not give an interpretation except to remark on Theophanes' appetite, which may be humorously intended but

memoranda call *tourtia*, a loanword from the Latin *torta*, designating a flattish round loaf of a type originally (in a period, perhaps, of home breadmaking before the growth of large-scale manufacture) baked in the ashes and turned over in the cooking.²¹

Daily expenditure on common bread “for the boys” was usually greater, sometimes twice as much as the sum paid for fine bread, but the memoranda never record the number of common loaves bought for a given sum. We need then to know the price relationship between fine and common bread. An inscription from early third-century Ephesus gives the price of a fourteen-ounce loaf of fine bread as 4 obols, and that of a ten-ounce loaf of common bread (*kibarios*) as 2 obols. This translates into a price ratio of 10:7 for the same amount of each; fine bread costs by weight almost 1.5 times as much as common bread.²² If this ratio can be applied to early fourth-century Antioch, it would follow that when, as he sometimes did, Theophanes spent twice as much on common as on fine bread, he would have bought about three times the quantity. On Pauni 23, for example, he bought three fine loaves for his 300 dr., while the 600 dr. he spent on common bread would have bought about nine loaves of the same weight. On Pauni 8, when he spent 400 dr. on four fine loaves, the 900 dr. spent on common bread might have purchased around fourteen loaves, and the 1,200 dr. spent on common bread on Pauni 3 would have bought up to eighteen loaves.

No maximum price for any type of bread is extant in Diocletian’s edict, and there is no sign that one was ever included, perhaps because the pricing and distribution of bread were subject to intervention by government or local authorities and there were no grounds to weaken their control by creating a general rule that in any case could not be enforced. The price of wheat is, however, declared, in the very first entry of the edict, at 100 den. for the now-standard *modius castrensis* of 31.25 Roman pounds, that is to say, just over 3 den. for a nominal pound of flour. Now Pliny in his *Natural History* (18.89f.) explains that a modius of the finest flour, by which he means the *modius Italicus* of 21.8 Roman pounds current in his day, yielded 22 pounds of bread.²³ The larger modius castrensis of Diocletian’s edict should then be capable of yielding at least thirty one-pound loaves. Adding in the cost of milling and baking at about one-third the cost of the wheat, the notional price of a one-pound loaf of fine quality should run at about 4 den., that of a two-pound loaf at 8 den.—such a convincing result that one wonders whether

is not the explanation; here as elsewhere, Kalleris writes correctly of “those who shared Theophanes’ table” (“Trophai kai Pota,” p. 691, cf. 693).

21. Kalleris, “Trophai kai Pota,” p. 694 n. 9, takes these *tourtia* to be a form of sausage, but that they were a variety of bread is clear from the Latin word and from other evidence; see appendix 2 on *PRyl.* 639.177, where a comparison is made with Tuscan flatbread. Another illustration of the type of bread (and a tempting translation) is the Italian *focaccia* for its derivation from the Latin *focus*, a fireplace or hearth.

22. T. R. S. Broughton, in Tenney Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. IV, p. 880.

23. This could be an understatement, if one hundred pounds of flour produce an additional 20 percent of weight in baked bread. It is possible that Pliny is thinking of a one-pound loaf as one of that nominal weight, made with a pound of flour.

the price of one modius castrensis of wheat was set to achieve it.²⁴ As we saw, Theophanes paid 100 dr., or 25 den., for a loaf of fine quality. A two-pound loaf at this price would imply an inflation factor of only $\times 3$ between 301 and about 320, a one-pound loaf a factor of twice this. Only the latter fits the recorded prices of wheat mentioned earlier.

It would appear from this that Theophanes' regular purchase of fine bread was of two, three, or four one-pound loaves, sometimes more, for the superior members of his party and their guests, and that he bought up to four or five times as much bread of lower quality for the slave attendants. This will have a bearing on the dietary regime of the two groups, as considered in chapter 8 below.

Meat. We come next to meat, for the particular reason that Theophanes habitually kept a note of the quantities purchased as well as the price paid, and more broadly to emphasize the important place of meat in the patterns of diet exhibited in the memoranda.²⁵ Theophanes bought meat at the following prices in the months of Pachon, Pauni, Epeiph, and Mesore. As noted, the figures for Pachon are fragmentary, and those for Epeiph are missing for the first eight days of the month and incomplete thereafter. On Epeiph 26 Theophanes left Antioch, and expenditures after this point relate to his journey home; on Epeiph 28 he was at Laodicea, and in the month of Mesore at other places further south.

Pachon	18	quantity and price lacking	
	24/5	three trotters @ 300 dr.	
	26	2 lbs. @ 1,[...] dr.	= 500+ dr./125+ den. per lb.
	28/9	2 lbs. @ 600 dr.	= 300 dr./75 den. per lb.
Pauni	2	4 lbs. @ 1,200 dr.	= 300 dr./75 den. per lb.
	3	9 lbs. for salting @ 2,800 dr.	= 311 dr./78 den. per lb.
	12	4 lbs. for salting @ 1,200 dr.	= 300 dr./75 den. per lb.
	19	6 lbs. @ 1,800	= 300 dr./75 den. per lb.
	23	3 lbs. @ 900	= 300 dr./75 den. per lb.
	26	8 lbs. for salting @ [2,400] dr. ²⁶	= 300 dr./75 den. per lb.

24. A similar result was reached by a rather different route by D. Sperber, *Roman Palestine 200–400: Money and Prices* (1974), pp. 112–21. The price would fit with the general equivalence of price between one sextarius of wine, one pound of meat and a (large) loaf of bread suggested by a Rabbinic source (*ibid.*, p. 115). In Diocletian's edict (see below) the maximum price of one pound of meat (other than pork) and one sextarius of wine is stated as 8 denarii, the conjectured price of a *two*-pound loaf.

25. On meat, Kalleris, “Trophai kai Pota,” pp. 692–94; Drexhage, “Ein Monat in Antiochia,” p. 6. See chapter 8 below.

26. The figure for meat on Pauni 26 is the only one missing in a daily total of 4,700 dr., to which the other items contribute 2,600 dr. However, incorrect totals in the memoranda are not uncommon, and I prefer to give the price of meat as 2,400 dr. with a mistaken addition for the day; see appendix 2 on *P.Ryl.* 629.385. The figure for Pauni 3 is also anomalous, and here too the total for the day is inaccurate.

Epeiph	12	5 lbs. for salting @ 2,000 dr.	= 400 dr./100 den. per lb.
	17	7 lbs. for salting @ 2,800 dr.	= 400 dr./100 den. per lb.
	25	3 lbs. @ 1,200 dr.	= 400 dr./100 den. per lb.
	28	2 lbs. @ 800 dr.	= 400 dr./100 den. per lb.
Mesore	1	four pieces of meat	no price extant
		“boiled trotters & head”	no price extant
	7	6 lbs. @ 1,200 dr.	= 200 dr./50 den. per lb.
	8	pork(?) meat @ 100 dr.	no quantity extant.
		wine and a cut of meat @ 200 dr.	no quantity extant
	9	goat meat @ 300 dr.	no quantity extant.

We should compare these prices to the scattered references to meat in the earlier parts of the memoranda, while Theophanes was still in Egypt and on the journey to Antioch. On two occasions, at Babylon and at Athribis, he bought four pounds of meat for 600 dr., that is to say, at the notional sum of 37.5 den. (150 dr.) per pound—half the Antiochene price. On the road to Antioch, Theophanes bought meat at Caesarea for 100 and at Laodicea for 200 dr. The memoranda do not record the quantities, but both are low figures, that recorded for Caesarea particularly so. On the way home, the figure of 50 den. per pound for the six pounds of meat recorded for Mesore 7 at Betaros, just south of Caesarea, matches the lower prices paid for meat on the outward journey. On the following day, Theophanes bought some pork(?) meat for 100 dr.,²⁷ the equivalent of a mere 25 den. for the most expensive meat listed in the prices edict, as well as a cut of meat and some wine, for the sum of 200 dr. together. These must have been small pieces, while the 300 dr. spent on goat meat on Mesore 9 (completing four purchases of meat over three successive days) goes along with other high expenditures for the day and may reflect a purchase for a larger number of people. Given the consistency of the figures, it looks as if for whatever reason—perhaps simply reflecting the costs of a major urban market—prices were higher in Antioch than in places along the seaboard to the south of it and much higher than they were in Egypt. Naturally, while traveling Theophanes would buy meat in smaller quantities than during his residence at Antioch, lacking the facilities to store and salt it.

The maximum prices given by the prices edict are 8 den. for one pound of beef, goat, and mutton, 12 den. for one pound of pork, with higher prices for the meat of the young animals;

Edict 4.1–4, 12, 46–48:

1	Likewise for meat;		
	Pork meat	1 Italian lb	12 den.

27. The reading of the papyrus does not seem quite secure; see appendix 2 on *P.Ryl.* 630*.411.

	Beef	1 Italian lb	8 den.
	Goat or mutton	1 Italian lb	8 den.
12	Four trotters and the stomach are sold at the same price as the meat		
46	Sucking pig	1 Italian lb	16 den.
	Lamb	1 Italian lb	12 den.
	Kid	1 Italian lb	12 den.

Comparing these to the prices paid at Antioch in Pachon and Pauni but leaving aside the very high (and suspect) figure for Pachon 26, if Theophanes was buying pork, at 75 den. per pound the price stands at $\times 6.25$ the figure of 12 den. given by the edict, with a higher increase of $\times 9.4$ in the case of the other meats listed. It is a reasonable inference that the meat bought by Theophanes at Antioch was pork rather than the more expensive beef, goat, or mutton.²⁸

It is worth noting the increase from the price paid in Pachon and Pauni at 300 dr. (75 den.) per pound to that paid in the surviving part of Epeiph before Theophanes' departure from Antioch, at 400 dr. (100 den.) per pound.²⁹ The reason for the increase is not known, but its uniformity suggests administrative regulation rather than the exercise of the free market. Several groups of papyri from Oxyrhynchus show various traders' guilds (such as perfume sellers and salt traders) submitting declarations to the *logistēs*, or *curator* of the city, of the costs they had incurred during the month for raw materials.³⁰ The declarations were filled out on prepared forms to be submitted on the last day of the month, apparently in order to permit the market supervisors to set authorized retail prices for the month following. Such a procedure is not attested for Antioch, but it would not be out of place there and would explain why the price of meat should rise so uniformly from Pauni to Epeiph.³¹

No distinction of price is apparent between meat bought for immediate consumption and that bought for salting, but the larger quantities of nine, eight, seven, five, and four pounds are usually, and for obvious reasons, of the latter. On any calculation, the quantity of pork(?) meat bought for 100 dr. on Mesore 8 (at Abella) cannot have been large, but we note that a

28. It is not clear how the edict intends to price the trotters and stomach of animals; probably not by weight or by selling trotters and stomach together. If it meant that four trotters or the stomach were sold for the same amount as one pound of meat, then the 300 dr. spent by Theophanes on three trotters on Pachon 24/25 would be quite close to the regular price.

29. Noted without explanation by Drexhage, "Ein Monat in Antiochia," p. 6.

30. R. A. Coles, in *POxy.* 54.3731–55, a total of twenty-two texts with groups from Pachon (nos. 3732–35), Thoth (3736–40), Hathyr (3742), and Phamenoth (3747–53)—all dated to the 30th of the month. Nos. 3743–45 are of 318, month and day not extant. See Coles's appendix on the guilds at pp. 230–32, with *ZPE* 39 (1980), pp. 115–23.

31. Direct evidence for market control at Antioch comes from the works of Libanius in a later period, but market supervision was always part of the liturgical framework of a city; P. Petit, *Libanius et la Vie Municipale à Antioche au IV^e siècle après J.-C.* (1955), pp. 60, 68, 121, and J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (1972), p. 131.

second portion of meat was bought on the same day and that Theophanes had bought six pounds of meat at Betaros on Mesore 7; perhaps the small piece, at about a quarter pound or three English ounces, was for Theophanes' personal consumption. Also worth emphasis is the sheer quantity of meat involved; in Pauni alone, thirty-four pounds of meat were purchased on a total of six days of the month (Pauni 2, 3, 12, 19, 23, 26). This will be important when we come to discuss Theophanes' lifestyle at Antioch.³²

We should add Theophanes' purchases of preserved meat in the form of sausages, to which the accounts give two names, both loanwords from Latin: *loukanika* and *isicia*, the latter being entered into the accounts in the somewhat elaborate abbreviation *eissikiar(iōn)* (which really means "sausage maker"). He bought them on six days in Pachon and Pauni, as follows:

Pachon	24/5	800 dr. <i>eissikiaria</i>
	27/8	400 dr. <i>eissikiaria</i>
Pauni	2	400 dr. <i>loukanika</i>
	8	200 dr. <i>loukanika</i> "for lunch with Eulogius"
	15	200 dr. <i>loukanika</i>
	22	200 dr. <i>loukanika</i>

He bought *loukanika* for the same price at Athribis, at the outset of his journey (see above). In an entry for Epeiph 26 there is another purchase, but neither the price nor the quantity is extant on the papyrus.

In the prices edict, the maximum price of one pound of pork sausage was set at 16 den., a pound of beef sausage at 10 den. In each case the price was higher than that of the meat from which it was made, reflecting no doubt the cost of extra ingredients and manufacture. We might then infer from the inflation rate suggested above that the price of 400 dr. (100 den.) paid by Theophanes on Pauni 2 represents the purchase of one pound, that on the other three days of half a pound, of *loukanika* made of pork, or twice these amounts if he was buying beef sausage.

It is surprising to find the other form of meat sausage known as *isicia* listed in the edict at the rate of one ounce for 2 den., or 24 den. for the Roman pound of the pork variety—at this price, a real connoisseur's dish! This might possibly explain the high price of 800 dr. paid for *isicia* on Pachon 24/25. On the other hand this was a time of high expenditure for Theophanes, and the money spent on *isicia* may reflect not quality but quantity. The high price of pork *isicia* is somewhat offset by the figure of 10 den. listed in the edict for the beef version, and in neither this case nor that of *loukanika* can we say which of the two was purchased

32. Chapter 8 below. I do not see why Drexhage ("Ein Monat in Antiochia," p. 6) is so sure that Theophanes ate all the meat (more than one pound per day!) himself. Kalleris again ("Trophai kai Pota," pp. 691, 693, etc.) writes correctly of Theophanes and his fellow diners.

by Theophanes.³³ The two items were, of course, quite distinct. *Loukanika* originated in the south Italian region of Lucania and were a pork sausage cured by smoking over a fire, while *isicia* (something “cut up”) were patties formed from chopped meat—rather like a rissole or hamburger, though one would hardly venture that translation here. The explanation of Theophanes’ inconsistency may be linguistic rather than culinary. Perhaps the records for Pachon and Pauni were kept by different members of Theophanes’ entourage, who did not trouble to use the terms with their true distinctions. Although *loukanika* comes into modern Greek as the term for a dry sausage (these references are in fact the first to be recorded in a Greek text), it is *isicium* that provides the generic term for sausage in modern Romance languages (and in English).³⁴ It is also the word used for the makers of the product in two documents from the domestic archives of Theophanes.³⁵

Fish. Given the character of the Mediterranean diet, we would expect to encounter fish, and this is provided by the word *opsaridia* that occurs six times in Pharmouthi and Pachon and three times thereafter.³⁶ Its interpretation requires a few words of commentary. In Attic Greek the word *opson* denotes prepared or cooked food in general, with some implication of luxury and refinement. Within this range of meaning, a weight of emphasis on fish derives from the fact that this was such an important part of fine cuisine at Athens (and elsewhere) in the Classical period; so the derivative noun *opsarion* came to mean just a fish. In New Testament Greek, it is the word used in one version of the parable of the loaves and fishes (John 6.9,11; cf. 21.9,13), whereas the other version has the more Classical *ichthys* (Luke 9.16). *Opsarion*, of which *opsaridia* is a diminutive form, comes to stand for fish in the Greek of the Byzantine period, and this is clearly what it means in Theophanes.³⁷

There are no references to *opsaridia* in the extant accounts for Epeiph (not so surprising; there were only two in Pauni). A single late reference occurs on Mesore 14, but by then another word has appeared in the memoranda, *exatilia*, occurring nine times in that month and covering the same price range as *opsaridia*. As we saw in chapter 6, it may be an alternative choice of word, in a period and in places where we would certainly expect fish to have been bought; Theophanes would hardly have traveled south along the Levantine coast without sometimes

33. On the dietary aspects, see chapter 8 below, and esp. Frank J. Frost, “Sausages and Meat Preservation in Antiquity,” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 40 (1999), pp. 241–52.

34. From the compound **salsa-isicium*, yielding Italian *salsiccia* and French *saucisson*; Frost, “Sausages and Meat Preservation in Antiquity,” p. 248. Kalleris, “‘Trophai kai Pota,’” p. 694 n. 1, traces the evolution of *loukanika* into a generic word for any type of sausage.

35. *PRyl.* 640.10, 641.30.

36. Kalleris, “‘Trophai kai Pota,’” p. 695 and nn. 3–4; Drexhage, “Ein Monat in Antiochia,” p. 7.

37. The matter is discussed by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 9.385b–e, where the later meaning is already documented in sources of the Classical period. Its later history can be traced through the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (5.2481–82) and through the lexika of Du Cange, Lampe, and Sophocles on Patristic and Byzantine Greek. The everyday modern Greek word for fish is *to psari* (cf. Kalleris, “‘Trophai kai Pota,’” p. 695 n. 3).

buying it. Another difficult word that occurs twice in the memoranda, in the abbreviated form *chrysophydr*(), may be a version of *chrysophrys*, a much-valued seawater fish known after its physical features as the gilt-head (French *daurade*, Italian *dorata*), probably to be identified with the sea bream.³⁸

In Diocletian’s edict, sea-fish (*piscis aspratilis marinus*) is sold by weight at 24 or 16 den. per pound, depending on quality (5.1–2). Theophanes usually spent 100 or 200 dr. on fish, but on one occasion recorded a price of 300 dr. for 1 pound. This would give an inflation rate since the time of the edict within the now familiar range. One would expect the price of fish to vary by season and place, but in general it looks as if, when he bought it from time to time, Theophanes was doing so in quite modest amounts. Perhaps it retained something of the aura of refinement and delicacy with which it had begun.

*Olive oil.*³⁹ Diocletian’s edict distinguishes olive oil of three kinds, at maximum prices per sextarius of 40, 24, and 12 den. respectively:⁴⁰

Edict 3.2–4:

Oil, “extra virgin” ⁴¹	1 Italian sextarius	40 den.
Oil, second quality	1 Italian sextarius	24 den.
Ordinary oil	1 Italian sextarius	12 den.

Theophanes regularly bought olive oil, in two qualities: “best” (*khrestos*) or “fine” (*katharos*), and “ordinary” (*kibarios*). The purchase of fine olive oil is recorded on seven occasions; on Pachon 21, one *xestes* for an unknown sum and on Pachon 27 or 28, 1,200 dr. for an unknown quantity; on Pauni 7 and 24, 1,200 and 1,000 dr., respectively, the latter sum for one *xestes*; and on Epeiph 21, 25, and 27, where the only extant price is given as 400 dr. for Epeiph 25. The only entry to give both price and quantity is that of Pauni 24, 1,000 dr. for a *xestes* of fine oil, which is presumably also the amount purchased for the 1,200 drachmae spent on Pachon 27/28 and Pauni 7.

Oil of ordinary quality occurs very frequently in the memoranda: on three occasions in the incomplete records for Pachon (24, 27/28, 30), on ten days of Pauni at intervals never more than four days apart (Pauni 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 15, 19, 22, 26, 30), in the incomplete records of Epeiph on 11, 13, 22, and 27 of the month, and in Mesore on 1, 3, 6, 10, 11, and 13. The cost on all three

38. Appendix 2 on *P.Ryl.* 630*.447.
39. Drexhage, “Ein Monat in Antiochia,” pp. 4–5. Despite its focus on an earlier period, D. Brent Sandy, *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 6, 1989), gives much relevant information; on olive oil, pp. 72–82.
40. The figure of 12 denarii for the third category is given in the two Greek versions; the single Latin version, in an obvious error, reads 24 denarii for both the second and third categories.
41. I take this license to translate the edict’s phrase *olei floris*, used to denote the first pressing.

occasions in Pachon is 700 dr., which is with one exception the price in Pauni also and, in the single instance where the price is extant, in Epeiph. In Mesore the price drops to 400 (3, 6, 10) and 500 dr. (11, 13); the smaller figures here are perhaps because on the journey home his party did not always cook for itself and required less oil for this purpose and because Theophanes did not wish to carry excessive quantities. As for the amount of ordinary olive oil bought for the standard cost of 700 dr., the rereading of an entry for Epeiph 18 argued in the discussion of wine below would give this as one xestes, or sextarius.

The price differential of 1,000/1,200 and 700 dr. between a sextarius of best and second-quality oil is very close to that given in Diocletian's edict of 40 den. for the finest and 24 den. for oil of second quality. Despite his use of the term *cibarius*, applied in the edict to the third grade of oil, it looks as if Theophanes' purchases were equivalent to the first and second qualities listed there. The price increases over the figures given in Diocletian's edict work out at $\times 7.50$ or $\times 6.25$ in the case of fine oil priced at 1,200 and 1,000 dr., respectively, and at $\times 7.3$ in the case of ordinary oil priced at 700 dr. This is within the general range of the price increases suggested for other commodities.

Raphanos oil was a lot cheaper. Theophanes bought it at Egyptian Babylon on Mesore 16, at 100 dr. for as much as 5 xestai, the equivalent of 5 den. per sextarius—that is a fraction (one thirty-fifth) of the price of olive oil of regular quality at 700 dr. (175 den.) for a xestes. The figure is less even than that given by the edict, where raphanos oil is set at 8 den. per sextarius. The explanation must be that raphanos oil was extremely cheap to buy in the area of its production.⁴²

Wine. Theophanes' many purchases of wine can be described in three sections, respectively covering Pachon, then Pauni and Epeiph before his departure from Antioch, lastly the period of his journey home from the last days of Epeiph into Mesore.⁴³ His earlier transactions in Egypt and on the outward journey have nothing to add, for although these parts of his accounts quite frequently mention wine, this is most often in the large measure known as the *knidion*, without mention of the price paid.⁴⁴

At first sight, the records for Pachon are scarcely more helpful, since apart from their incompleteness they were kept in a less precise form than those that follow. In context, however, they are quite informative. They record wine purchases on five days of the month (Pachon 13,

42. The relatively high price set by the edict might be a sign that it was compiled at Antioch rather than Alexandria (Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, p. 206). Its production was limited to the Roman period, when Pliny, *Hist.Nat.* 15.30, cf. 19.79, says that more raphanos oil was produced in Egypt than oil of any other sort; Sandy, *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils*, p. 6 n. 22.

43. On wine, Kalleris, "Trophai kai Pota," pp. 712–13; Drexhage, "Ein Monat in Antiochia," pp. 5–6. Again, Drexhage seems to think that Theophanes (except where stated otherwise) drank all the wine himself.

44. Above, chapter 3. The *knidion* reappears at Babylon on Mesore 19 at the cost of 1,600 and 1,700 dr.; see appendix 2 on *PRyl.* 630*.533, 535.

17, 19, 21, 28). On four of these five occasions (the figure for Pachon 21 is missing),⁴⁵ we find the same figure of 900 dr. with no indication of quantity. If this was left unstated because it was a standard amount, it may well, on the evidence from the following months, have been a half-*kabos* (equivalent to 2 sextarii). The sum of 1,800 dr. paid to a “cellar-master” or wine merchant on Pachon 25 then looks very much like the cost of a full *kabos* of wine.

The month of Pauni begins with two very large purchases and continues with smaller ones, as follows:⁴⁶

Pauni	2	2,800 dr., one <i>spathion</i>
	5	2,900 dr., one <i>spathion</i>
	6	600 dr. for a half- <i>kabos</i> of sweetened wine
	9	1,100 dr., quantity not stated
	12	700 dr., a half- <i>kabos</i>
	16	900 dr., a half- <i>kabos</i>
	18	1,500, one <i>kabos</i>
	22	1,700 dr., one <i>kabos</i>
	26	200 dr., one <i>xestes</i> for lunch
	27	[], two <i>xestai</i> for lunch with Antoninus
Epeiph	9	[], a half- <i>kabos</i> for lunch
	13	1,700, one <i>kabos</i>
	17	1,800, one <i>kabos</i>
	20	900 dr. (with nuts)
	22	[], no quantity extant
	25	600 dr., <i>n</i> vessels of wine [for the journey]

After the two large initial purchases, the price range of 600 to 900 dr. for a half-*kabos* and 1,500 to 1,800 for a full *kabos* of wine is consistent and converts into a range of 300 to 450 dr. (75 to 112.5 den.) for a *xestes* or sextarius.⁴⁷ By this standard, the price of 200 dr. for a *xestes* of undeclared quality bought “for lunch” on Pauni 26 is extremely low, that of 700 dr. (175 den.) for what Roberts read as a *xestes* of “ordinary wine” paid on Epeiph 18 is extremely high. In the latter case, however, it seems likely that a true reading of the text would yield not wine but oil (all that can be seen on the papyrus is the damaged first letter of the word).⁴⁸ There are

45. While perversely the figure for Pachon 13 seems to have been entered twice.

46. Listed separately; on Pauni 6, 200 dr. for wine for cooking, on Pauni 25, 100 dr. for spiced wine (or salt?) (quantity not stated), and, at Ascalon on Mesore 8, 400 dr. for reduced wine (see Kalleris, “‘Trophai kai Pota,’” p. 713, nn. 3–4). For the *spathion*, see below.

47. 87.5 to 112.5 den. if we exclude the half-*kabos* of “sweet wine” bought on Pauni 6.

48. See appendix 2 on *P.Ryl.* 630*.104.

three reasons for thinking this. First, only on two occasions in the archive is everyday wine actually called *cibarius* (nor is it in Diocletian's edict), whereas oil often is; second, the price of 700 dr. for a sextarius of ordinary wine is conspicuously high; and third, it is the regular price paid throughout Pauni and Epeiph for ordinary olive oil. The entry is treated above as a figure for olive oil, for which its indication of volume is especially useful.

The maximum price set in Diocletian's edict for "old" or vintage wine—excluding pricey Italian wines, as it were *di origine controllata*, which were set at 30 den.—ran from 24 or 16 den. per sextarius down to ordinary or "country" wine at 8 den.:

Edict 2.8–10 (after Falernian):

Likewise old wine, first quality ⁴⁹	1 Italian sextarius	24 den.
Old wine, second quality	1 Italian sextarius	16 den.
Ordinary wine	1 Italian sextarius	8 den.

What the edict describes as "old wine" might be as recent as the previous year's production,⁵⁰ and the current year's vintage was not yet available at the time of Theophanes' residence at Antioch; "old wine" was all there was to be had. The question of quality, which, as modern experience confirms, may in the case of wine show a serious lack of correlation with price, makes comparisons extremely hazardous. If, however, we assume that for his 75/112 den. Theophanes was buying wine in the middle ranges classified in the prices edict at 24 and 16 den. per sextarius, the price increase since 301 conforms quite closely to that of other products and to other evidence. A papyrus of 316, for instance, offers a valuation of 65 den. per sextarius for "old wine," and other material adduced by Bagnall suggests a similar rate of increase over the period.⁵¹ Roberts remarked on the "nastiness" of the *conditum*, or spiced wine, bought for as little as 100 dr. on Pauni 25, but this is arbitrary, for no measurement of quantity is recorded. It may be that it was a small amount bought for a particular purpose—or possibly it was not wine at all, but some other spiced substance, such as salt.⁵²

The measure of wine known as the *spathion*, bought on Pauni 2 and 5 for 2,800 and 2,900

49. Literally *primi gustus*, "first flavor, taste."

50. Cf. *Digest* 33.6.11. Graser translated *vini veteris* as "one year old wine," but of course "old wine" could be more than a year old.

51. *P.Oxy.* 17.2114.8–9—a commutation price offered by the authorities in lieu of payment in kind. The sequence is then 16 den. per sextarius in the edict, 65 den. in 316 and 75/112 den. in Theophanes—a linear increase, and an inflation rate of $\times 6$ or more. *P.Oxy.* 54.3740 declares a price of 75 den. per sextarius already in 312, but the text refers to named (Egyptian) wines, which may correspond to the higher ranges given in the edict. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation*, p. 66, lists increases for the *keramion* of wine from 300 to 3,000 dr. between 300/01 and 322, with an intermediate price of 2,500 dr. for 321, and, for the *knidion*, from 1,800 to 3,400 dr. between 314 and 322.

52. For spiced salt, see edict 3.9, *salis conditi* (Greek *salakondeitou*; Theophanes *kondeitou*), at 8 den. per Italian sextarius. For spiced wine (*conditum*) at the high price of 24 den. per sextarius, see edict 2.17.

dr. (700 and 725 den.) respectively, is a large measure approaching in value 2 *kaboi*, or 8 sextarii. Whether it is actually a multiple of either of these measurements is unknown, but the resulting figure of just under 100 den. per sextarius approximates closely to those produced above and would fit well with an estimate of c. 5 liters for the spathion.⁵³

After his departure from Antioch, Theophanes' purchases of wine take a somewhat different form. The figures are usually lower, no doubt because he was buying only enough to consume day by day, often drinking in lodging houses rather than buying larger amounts for home consumption. There are also more frequent annotations describing the occasion for which the wine was bought. To the expenditures listed below are added, where they are extant on the papyrus or may be conjectured, the places in which they were incurred. The very high costs for bread and wine recorded for Mesore 17 are attributable in part to the meeting or assembly (*koinon*) recorded for that day and to Theophanes' preparations for his journey home by riverboat to Hermopolis.⁵⁴

Epeiph 26 (at Kata Hydata):

[] wine for...

[] wine for drinks with the party of Eulogius

27 (at Laodicea)

200 dr., [wine?] for you (plur.) for dinner

300 dr., for the boys, to drink

28 (at Balanea?)

600 dr., ordinary wine for the boys

400 dr., wine for lunch, one xestes

200 dr., wine for dinner with Theon and the party of Hermodorus

29 (at Antarados?)

400 dr., [wine?] for drinking

30 (at Tripolis?)

200 dr., wine for you (sing.) for lunch

[], wine, 1 xestes

[], for drinks with the party of Hermodorus

Mesore 1 (at Theouprosopon)

[], for us, wine to drink

(at Biblos)

[], to you (sing.), wine for lunch

800 dr., wine for dinner

53. Drexhage, "Ein Monat in Antiochia," p. 5 n. 24.

54. On this last point, deriving from a rereading of the papyrus, see appendix 3, on *PRyl.* 630*.531 and 536.

- 6 (“at the staging-post”)
 - 300 dr., wine for lunch
 - 8 (at Abella)
 - 200 dr., wine for lunch
 - 200 dr., wine for the boys, with a cut of meat
 (at Ascalon)
 - 500 dr., ordinary wine
 - 9 (at Raphia)
 - 600 dr., wine, for those at lunch with the party of Hermodorus
 - 300 dr., wine for dinner, to you (sing.)
 - 500 dr. to ourselves, for drinks with the boys and for Dion and Alexandros
 - 10 (at Rhinocolura)
 - 1,400 dr., to you (plur.), wine for lunch
 - 1,800 dr., wine for the journey, 4 *metrētai*
 - 14 (at Kabaseitos/Tacasarta)
 - 400 dr. to you for drinks with Hermodorus
 - 15 (at [S]kenai)
 - 300 dr., one xestes of wine
 - 17 (at Babylon)
 - 1,700 dr., one *knidion* of wine
 - 1,600 dr., another *knidion* of wine
 - 1 tal., two (double *knidia*?) of wine for the boat.
-

The prices of 300–400 dr. (75–100 den.) paid for a xestes of wine on Theophanes’ homeward journey are consistent with those recorded for Antioch. The 200 dr. mentioned on several occasions must relate to smaller quantities bought for particular meals, and when larger sums are mentioned, it can be conjectured and is often stated, in such phrases as “wine for lunch with the party of Hermodorus” or “for the boys,” “for drinks with the boys and for Dion and Alexandros,” that the wine was for a greater number of consumers. The sum of 600 dr. spent on “ordinary wine for the boys,” on Epeiph 28, like the expenditures regularly attributed to common bread, is proof of the substantial number of slaves in his entourage.

To regular wine we should add two further items derived from it, *oxos*, or wine vinegar (Latin *acetum*), and *apsinthion*, herb-flavored wine or vermouth, both of which occur at regular intervals. The entries for the latter usually appear in the form *apsinthion*, and only once as *apsinthaton*, as used in Diocletian’s edict (2.18), but it seems obvious that Theophanes was buying the wine itself rather than the herbal ingredients for making it. The maximum price of *apsinthaton* is given in the edict at the single rate of 20 den. for a sextarius; the figure is midway between the rates for first- and second-quality vintage wine, which is logical enough, since one would not mix herbs with the best wine, but on the other hand there should be a

premium for the cost of the ingredients and manufacture. Theophanes usually paid 200, on three occasions 400 dr., for *apsinthion*. It seems probable that the larger sum, the equivalent of 100 den., is for 1 sextarius, giving an inflation rate of five times since the edict. If this is right, the single payment of 100 dr. on Pachon 24 was for a very small amount of the wine, but it follows two payments of 400 dr., the more recent of them just five days earlier.

Vinegar, important not only as a kitchen ingredient for cooking and making salads, but, in heavy dilution with water, in the everyday diet of the lower classes, is listed in the edict at a maximum price of 6 den. for a sextarius. Over the period of Theophanes' residence at Antioch, the price of vinegar is extant in ten out of eleven references to it. He paid 300 dr. on one occasion, 200 dr. on five occasions, 100 dr. on four. On Pauni 24 the quantity of vinegar bought for 200 dr. is given as 2 xestai. Converted into 25 den. per sextarius, the price is just over four times the maximum listed in Diocletian's edict.

Passing now from the "Mediterranean triad" of bread, oil, and wine to the many other purchases in Theophanes' memoranda, *tarichos*, pickled or salt-fish, is an almost daily component of his diet and cost 100 dr. on all but two occasions where it is found.⁵⁵ The amount is never recorded, but on Pauni 21 an unusually large expenditure of 400 dr. of *tarichos* is entered for a single unit of measurement. The unit is not named, but the price suggests a measure divisible by four, to give the 100 dr. of Theophanes' regular purchases. The most plausible solution would be that the 100 dr. represents a xestes or sextarius, four of which, as we saw in discussing wine, made up a kabos, and that this is the amount of *tarichos* purchased for 400 dr. on Pauni 21. This presupposes that *tarichos* was sold in liquid measures; it is a different product from that listed as "salted fish" (*piscis salsi*) in Diocletian's edict, a solid foodstuff tariffed at the maximum price of 6 den. for an Italian pound.

Garum, or fish sauce, is one of the most essential and refined, and still one of the most commonly misunderstood, constituents of the Roman cuisine. A clear liquid of subtle taste, made by a process of slow fermentation in brine, it can be closely approximated, both in the process of manufacture and in the end-product, in the delicate Indonesian fish sauce now readily available.⁵⁶ To connect its manufacture, and the sauce itself, with the stench of rotten fish is a popular misapprehension that it is time was laid to rest. *Garum* occupies a somewhat variable place in Theophanes' patterns of expenditure.⁵⁷ In two entries for Pachon, the first month of his residence at Antioch, he paid 1,200 dr. for what was clearly a large quantity of this essential kitchen ingredient. On Pauni 6, for 700 dr. he bought anchovies or some other small fish and also, at the large figure of 700 dr. for this item, dried figs for blending with *garum*; given such quantities, it is possible that Theophanes was making it for himself, by

55. *Tarichos*; Kalleris, "'Trophai kai Pota,'" p. 695; Drexhage, "Ein Monat in Antiochia," p. 7. For its manufacture, Curtis, *Ancient Food Technology*, pp. 403–04, 408.

56. Curtis, *Ancient Food Technology*, pp. 404–17.

57. Kalleris, "'Trophai kai Pota,'" pp. 695–96.

an accelerated process of fermentation by artificial heating.⁵⁸ Thereafter, his expenditure is distributed among smaller quantities; of the eleven recorded occasions in Epeiph a price is extant on seven, and it is always 100 dr. There is, however, a useful exception on Mesore 8, when he paid at Ascalon 200 dr. for a named quantity, one xestes.

Diocletian's edict gives maximum prices for garum (Latin *liquamen*) of 16 den. for a sextarius of best and 12 den. for a sextarius of the second-quality product. Furthermore, a papyrus of 319 records a cost price declared by its manufacturers of 28 den. for one xestes.⁵⁹ Given that the added value of garum was inherent in the preparation rather than in the raw materials, this might well translate into a market price of 50 den. (200 dr.) per sextarius at the time of Theophanes' journey two or three years later. If Theophanes' purchases were of standard garum, a price of 200 dr. per sextarius would represent an increase of just over four times since the edict of Diocletian; if he was buying the best quality, then the inflation rate was barely more than three times. As in all the cases surveyed here, this can provide only the broadest of indications. Undoubtedly, on the open market and in different places the quality and price of garum varied very widely.

Olives, another staple item of Theophanes' diet,⁶⁰ are among the many other expenditures listed in the memoranda at 100 dr., and this is a feature of the accounts that can be turned to advantage. The constant recurrence of this figure, and its connection, argued in chapter 5, with the spending power of two Licinian *nummi* tarified at 12.5 denarii, suggests that we may seek its counterpart in Diocletian's edict in the ubiquitous figure of 4 denarii; this too corresponded, as we saw above, to a basic element in the reformed currency of Diocletian. The implied inflation rate of $\times 6.25$ (25:4) in the bronze currency fits well enough the range of price increases we have found in several commodities. If so, the correlation of Theophanes' 100 dr. to the 4 den. of the edict will permit an estimate of the quantities of many items bought by Theophanes, when these are not given in the memoranda. In the case of olives, he could have bought one Italian sextarius of standard black olives (perhaps the most likely), or 40 of the variety known as "columbades," or else 20 of the best "olives of Tarsus" (*olivae Tarsicae*).⁶¹

In the following paragraphs I present commodities regularly bought by Theophanes for 100 dr., together with the quantities of these commodities priced at the basic cost of 4 denarii in Diocletian's edict (a full listing will be found in appendix 3).⁶²

58. Curtis, *Ancient Food Technology*, p. 414.

59. *P.Oxy.* 54.3749.15 (March 26, 319)—one of the groups of declarations by guilds referred to above (n. 30). For the 28 den. as a cost or wholesale price, see R. A. Coles's comments at p. 239 n. 2 and at *ZPE* 37 (1980), pp. 229–30 (cf. *P.Oxy.* 51, pp. 60–61).

60. Kalleris, "Trophai kai Pota," p. 697.

61. See appendix 2 on *P.Ryl.* 627.74, where what appear to be olives are measured by the xestes; cf. *Ed. Diocl.* 6.91 for this way of measuring black olives.

62. On what follows, see Kalleris, "Trophai kai Pota," pp. 698–703 (vegetables) and 703–11 (fruits). For *kemia* and *kemoraphanos*, appendix 4.

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 7.1. Fruit stall in a market. Musée Luxembourgeois, Arlon.

Among the commonest, *green vegetables or pot-herbs* (*lachana*), and the items called *kemia* and *kemoraphanos*, which has not been safely identified but is clearly a variety of leaf vegetable, are not to be found in the edict, but others, such as *gourds* or vegetable marrows, *cucumbers*, and (on three occasions only) *leeks*, are all listed there at 10 of first or 20 of second quality—which is probably just a difference of size—for the sum of 4 den. *Lettuces* and (once only) *beet* are listed in the edict at 5 and 10 of the respective qualities, *onions* at 25 or 50, and *carrots* in bundles of 25 or 50, in this case for 6 den. The maximum price of *melons* was set at 2 of first quality or 4 of second quality, of *apricots* at 10 for 4 den. without distinctions of quality, *peaches* at 10 or 20, *apples* also at 10 or 20 with a further category of small apples at 40 for 4 den. *Fresh figs* were set at 25 or 40, *mulberries* and *dried figs* by volume at 1 sextarius, and *dried nuts* (usually bought by Theophanes together with dried figs) at 100 for 4 den.⁶³ *Plums*, also usually bought with other items, were priced at 30 or 40, *dates* at 8 or 16, or, in the everyday quality probably bought by Theophanes on the single occasion when they are found, at 25 for 4 den. The maximum price of *table grapes*, a frequent purchase of Theophanes in the later

63. The edict offers no counterpart to the *skamia*, or sycamore figs, purchased on two occasions at 100 dr.; *P.Ryl.* 630*.446, 487 with appendix 2.

part of his stay as they began to appear on the market, was set at the very inexpensive rate of 4 den. for four pounds. An especially close link with the edict is provided by *artichokes*, of which Theophanes on one occasion bought three, together with some other item unknown to us, for 200 dr. Inferring a price of 50 dr. (one Licinian *nummus*) per artichoke and assuming an inflation rate of $\times 5$ since the prices edict, we find an exact correspondence with the edict, which sets their cost at 5 for 10 den., or 2 den. per item. *Honey* was priced by Diocletian at 40 or 25 den. per sextarius, depending on quality. These figures, understood as 160 or 100 dr. and multiplied for inflation, make it clear that Theophanes' expenditure on two occasions of 100 dr. can only have bought a very small amount. The expenditure of 500 dr. on one occasion may have bought a sextarius of this versatile ingredient.

Of other foodstuffs commonly bought by Theophanes for a "standard cost" of 100 dr., *fresh cheese* was priced in the edict at one pound for 8 den., which might suggest that Theophanes' regular purchase of 100 dr. was for half a pound. The maximum price of *eggs* was set in the edict at four for 4 den., which, converted into the 200 dr. usually spent by Theophanes, would have bought him double that number.⁶⁴ This is worth noting in the light of the 400 dr. that Theophanes spent on eggs in preparation for the journey over the desert (see above). Edible *snails*, bought on one occasion for 100 dr., were listed in the edict with a maximum price of 20 large or 40 small for 4 den., which gives some guide to the number bought by Theophanes on that occasion.

Other items, such as *salt*, *garlic*, and *chickpeas*, are priced in the edict as bulk items, salt and chickpeas at 100 den. for a modius castrensis and garlic at 60 den. for an Italian modius.⁶⁵ It is impractical to reduce these figures to the small quantities mentioned in Theophanes' memoranda. *Firewood* too, bought by Theophanes as a daily item, is priced in the edict (13.8–11) by the wagonload and as carried by camel, mule, or donkey. The last of these modes of delivery is priced at three hundred pounds of wood for 30 den., or ten pounds per denarius. Theophanes' 100 dr. or 4 denarii (he sometimes paid 200 dr., especially in the early part of his residence at Antioch) might then, allowing for inflation, have purchased up to ten pounds of firewood, though this is perhaps too large an estimate for one who was not buying in bulk. The weight of a pack of firewood from a local supermarket is given as ten pounds, about 14 Roman pounds, for 0.75 cubic feet of wood, which would seem to be the scale of purchase required by one who was buying wood every day for cooking.

The dietary implications of all this will be pursued in the final chapter of this book, but in the meantime let us consider them in the light of the financial accounts for a single day, Pauni 7. On this day, which represents the higher expenditures typical of the earlier part of Theophanes' residence at Antioch but is otherwise unexceptional, his people will have returned from the market with the following items;

64. Kalleris, "Trophai kai Pota," pp. 797–98 (cheese), 698 (eggs).

65. Chickpeas occur only at *P.Ryl.* 627.268 and have no connection with the journey.

- 3 1-lb. loaves of fine bread and 1 flatbread (or focaccia)
- 12 common loaves for the slaves
- 20 first-grade (or 40 second-grade) gourds
 - vegetables and *kemoraphanos* equivalent to the above
- 10 first-grade (or 20 second-grade) cucumbers
 - 1 sextarius (a pint) of black olives
 - 1 sextarius of pickled fish
- ½ lb fresh cheese
- c. 8 eggs
 - 1 sextarius of first-grade olive oil
- ½ extarius of herb-flavored wine (vermouth)
- soap
- firewood (about twenty pounds).

There is no mention of meat or table wine, but four days earlier Theophanes had bought nine pounds of meat for salting, and on Pauni 5 a spathion, about 5 sextarii, of wine at 2,900 dr. On Pauni 6 he had bought a sextarius of ordinary olive oil, and on the same day had prepared a sauce from garum with anchovies and figs. He had bought nuts and dried figs on Pauni 4 and 5 (a total of a sextarius of figs and 100 nuts). There is a lack of fresh fruit, but the early ripening apricots first appear on Pauni 10, and it may be that they were simply not yet in season.

We can review briefly the remaining items of expenditure in Theophanes' memoranda—not that they lack interest at all, but because the prices edict offers relatively few ways of furthering their interpretation.

Theophanes' several visits to the baths at Antioch and on the journey home (the outward journey is insufficiently detailed to document this absolute necessity) cost him 100, 200, or 300 dr. each. The variation of cost has no doubt something to do with the facilities available and the level of service required by the client, and it is likely too that while traveling Theophanes could sometimes use private baths as part of the cost of his accommodation. The only useful figure in the edict (2.76) is the 2 den. per bather assigned as the maximum payment due to the attendant of a private bathing establishment; but if we assume the actual cost of a bath to be double or more because of overheads and maintenance, the figure does not fit badly with the 100 dr. or more paid by Theophanes.

For his visits to the baths, Theophanes bought *aphronitron*, or foam of nitre, for which he always paid 100 dr. The item occurs in the prices edict, but in a damaged sector where the price is not extant. Soap, too (*saphōnion*), cost 100 or 200 dr., but no trace survives of an entry in the edict. Ironically perhaps, the entries for the cost of paper and other writing materials are fragmentary in the edict; here in the archive we have the clear information that it cost Theophanes 100 dr. for a sheet of papyrus made up into rolls of various sizes, but nothing to compare it with.

On one occasion Theophanes sent a cloak to the fuller’s to be cleaned, at a cost of 1,400, plus 800 dr. paid later (assuming these figures to be two installments for the same item). This is a large sum of money, but, in the absence of a more precise description of the cloak, it is impossible to relate it to the chapter of the edict (22) on maximum payments to fullers. The chapter is detailed and wide ranging, with prices running from 20, 25, and 50 den. for the more everyday items up to 500 and 600 den. for the most expensive. Theophanes’ cloak comes in the middle range. The professional cleaning of clothes was an expensive business, especially for finer garments.

There are several entries in the memoranda for the purchase of items such as boots and clothing, for the purchase and repair of crockery, on one occasion of a traveling hat. Lacking any indication of quality, again we have no way to connect these costs to the very diverse prices given for such articles in the edict.⁶⁶ It is, however, worth pausing on the figure of 3,000 dr. paid by Theophanes to a “speed-writer,” or stenographer (*oxygraphos*), on the last full day of his stay at Antioch. The figures given in the edict’s fascinating chapter on the subject of wages and fees include nothing for stenographers, but do offer figures for certain other sorts of writing:

Edict 7.39–41:

For a copyist, for best writing,	100 lines	25 den.
For second-quality writing,	100 lines	20 den.
For a clerk (<i>tabellanio</i>), for writing memoranda or legal documents,	100 lines	10 den.

If we take the last of these as the nearest to what one might pay an *oxygraphos* (a *tabellanio* was a sort of paralegal able to prepare certain types of routine documentation), Theophanes’ 3,000 dr., converted to 750 den. and reduced to 150 den. to allow for inflation, would have bought him 1,500 lines of writing—not a precise figure, of course, but a guide to the scale of writing required for the agreement that was being negotiated, and giving some context to Theophanes’ purchases of paper. There were other costs associated with the agreement, recorded as eight payments ranging from 1,000 to 2,400 dr.; a total of 10,100 dr. (plus a missing figure), the last payment, of 1,000 dr., being made at Heliopolis on Mesore 16. The sum comes to almost 2 talents. We should add in 2,600 dr. and possibly other contributions to the meeting that may have had something to do with the accomplishment of Theophanes’ mission, not to mention the payment of rent at Antioch. On any account, the costs of travel, accommodation, and entertainment far exceeded the direct costs of the agreement itself.

66. The figure on “boots for Horos,” spent at Babylon on Pharmouthi 6, should be revised from Roberts’s 300 to 1,300 dr.; see edict 9.5a and appendix 2 on *P.Ryl.* 627.190.

8 Food and Diet

THE INFORMATION ABOUT food costs and diet contained in the Theophanes memoranda is rich and detailed. It offers endless possibilities for the increasing numbers of historians who are interested in these topics, though its interpretation is not perfectly straightforward. We must, in the first instance, take account of context and of the social distinctions that existed within his party. We can see at once from the daily purchases of bread in its two qualities that different elements in the party were treated differently in the dietary provision made for them, but we do not know how great the differences were, how far they extended beyond the two types of bread, or how thoroughly they were applied. In order to reach a more sensitive understanding of these questions, we need to look again at the composition of Theophanes' party. We may think of it as elements of a Roman household, encountered in the circumstances of an extended journey away from home.

We saw in chapter 5 that Theophanes' party consisted of a number of assistants of higher status and a larger group of slave attendants. It seemed possible to identify and to define the status of some of its more prominent members. Leaving aside Eulogius, who was an independent agent rather than a member of the party in its narrower sense, we can count Eudaimon, who sometimes received money to dispense on Theophanes' behalf,¹ and Silvanus, who in a letter of Theophanes translated in chapter 2 and in the private papers from Hermopolis is

1. Cf. the purchase of "beet for Eudaimon" for 100 dr. at *P.Ryl.* 639.98. If it is right to think of this as a medicinal need rather than a culinary preference (see below) this would strengthen the argument that Eudaimon was an immediate member of Theophanes' party rather than more generally affiliated with it.

called the *phrontistēs*, the steward or manager of the household. There was Hermes, mentioned as Theophanes' messenger (*dromeus*, in Latin *cursor*) at Hermopolis, who also fulfilled these functions at Antioch.² This too is a familiar character in an upper-class household; in Petronius's richly inventive *Dinner of Trimalchio* we catch sight, as in a cartoon image, of a whole troupe of domestic *cursores* in the portico, practicing with their trainer (*Sat.* 29.7)! There was "Horos son of Bellos," who also ran errands for Theophanes at Antioch, for example, to buy his clean sheets of papyrus. The patronymic may distinguish him from other servants called Horos and may even identify him as a homebred slave, or *vernula*, of Theophanes' household.³

These are the members of the party who are named individually and whom we glimpse in the pursuit of their particular duties, administering the affairs of the group, shopping and handling money, carrying messages. In addition, given that Theophanes' party was accustomed to cook for itself at Antioch, and the sheer variety of foodstuffs appearing in the memoranda both at Antioch and during the journey home, it is reasonable to suppose it included a chef. Theophanes' Hermopolis papers mention *mageiroi*, a Greek word in its original sense meaning a butcher but widely used for a chef in general, and an *eisikiarios*, whose job it was to make the type of chopped-meat sausage known as *isicia*.⁴ We have seen that on some occasions Theophanes bought his *isicia* ready-made from the market, but the party would certainly have had a use for a competent cook.

Such senior servants of a Roman household are those who held advantaged positions in it—the sort who in due course might, if of servile status, expect to receive their freedom. In this respect, the evidence of the archive offers a perspective upon the institution of slavery itself. In an early second-century will preserved on an inscription, known (misleadingly) as the Testament of Dasumius, a *cursor* and a cook (*cocus*) are among the manumitted slaves, together with a *notarius*, a *sumptuarius*, a *dispensator*, and other servants with more exotic occupations revealing of the life of an upper-class Roman household.⁵ Even if one did not need to take on a working journey one's hairdresser, cobbler, wardrobe master, chamberlain, or hair-plucker, all of whom are mentioned in the "Dasumius" Testament, evidence like this

2. *P.Ryl.* 641.32; 642 (i) 67, (ii) 6 (Silvanus); 627.99 (Hermes).

3. For Kalleris's identification of "Gell(ios)" as a member of Theophanes' household, reading the name for "Rell(ios)" at *P.Ryl.* 629.195 but against the evidence of the papyrus, see appendix 2, ad loc. (p. 193).

4. *P.Ryl.* 640.9, 17, 23; 641.4, 6, 28 (*magiros/-oi*); 640.10; 641.30 (*isikiarios*). The *mageiros*, or cook, is sometimes contrasted with the *sitopoios*, the breadmaker or baker, as at Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.132–33, and Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* 23.3.

5. *CIL* 6.10229 (= Bruns, *FIRA*⁷, pp. 304–08), lines 40ff., esp. 42 (cook), 86 ([*cu*]rsor); see esp. W. Eck, "Zum neuen Fragment des sogenannten testamentum Dasumii," *ZPE* 30 (1978), pp. 277–95. The document is translated, not entirely satisfactorily, by Jane F. Gardner and Thomas Wiedemann, *The Roman Household: A Sourcebook* (1991), pp. 133–39.

illustrates the known fact that Roman households were advanced social institutions, containing high levels of specialist expertise among the slaves employed in them.⁶

Furthermore, in the context of the household as a functioning social unit, the role of such individuals did not reflect merely the formal, as it were “contractual” issue of their being slave or free. Such evidence underlines the general truth that the institution of slavery is not only to be understood in the limited dimensions of juridical subordination and physical oppression, but as expressing a whole range of relationships and self-perceptions, points of honor and personal affections. One of a historian’s worst errors is to oversimplify a complex situation. No one will question the exploitative nature of much agricultural slavery in the ancient world, but such a situation (relatively uncommon under the Roman empire, especially in the later period) does not apply to the sophisticated social relationships to be found in a Roman household.⁷ To foster pride in the institution in which one works is a commonplace aim of management principles, and we can all think of examples of prestigious organizations whose humblest employees are as committed to the ideals of the organization as its loftiest magnates—indeed, they can be very censorious of those superiors who do not live up to those ideals. It would be as much to Theophanes’ advantage to maintain good relations with his senior household servants during the visit to Antioch as it was back at Hermopolis, and we can assume that he did so.

The more privileged members of Theophanes’ party should be distinguished from the *paidia* at large, the slaves of lower rank who supported the enterprise of the journey in its more mundane aspects—loading and unloading wagons, looking after the effects of the party, maintaining the rented accommodation at Antioch, attending Theophanes at the baths, acting as kitchen hands, serving at table, and so on. Even so, on this level too it was in Theophanes’ interest to take with him the more trusted workers among his household staff. As to their numbers, it is unlikely that there was not one servant to attend on each of the senior members of Theophanes’ entourage, counting these as Eudaimon and Silvanus, and surely more than one for Theophanes himself: so about four personal attendants altogether. Adding a similar number of general slave attendants (some roles may have been doubled), that should give us a party of ten or more persons, including Theophanes himself, with Eudaimon and Silvanus as the administrators of the party, followed by Horos son of Bellos, Hermes the *cursor*, and the unnamed *paidia*. Only at one moment in the memoranda do we glimpse mentioned by name some possible members of this last element in Theophanes’ entourage. At Babylon and on the riverboat returning to Hermopolis at the very end of the journey, he assigns to one named

6. An *ornator* (line 59), *sutor* (70), *vestiarius* (50), *cubicularius* (68, also 78), and a *dropacator* (69) are among those who receive their freedom in the Dasumius testament. For slave specialisms in the household, compare Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9.2.; 10.3; noted by F. Millar, *JRS* 71 (1981), at p. 69. At *Digest* 40.4.24 the jurist Gaius states the rule that in manumissions the occupation as well as the name of the freed slave should be given.

7. R. MacMullen, “Late Roman Slavery,” *Historia* 26 (1987), pp. 359–82 [= *Changes in the Roman Empire*, chapter 23].

individual, Aōros, the purchase of vermouth and wine and to another, Piōx, the purchase of bread ashore. The bearers of these Egyptian names may be members of Theophanes' band of slaves or members of the crew of the riverboat, there is no way of telling.

With this we may have some sense of the body of slaves for whom was purchased the common bread referred to every day in the accounts and the wine vinegar (Latin *acetum*) used both in the kitchen and, in dilution of one part to ten of water, as an everyday drink for ordinary folk. As we saw earlier, the much larger quantities of common bread bought for the slave attendants, in comparison with the fine bread bought for Theophanes and his intimate associates, reflect two things: the number of slaves in the entourage and the greater dependence of the slave diet on bread. On the other hand the memoranda are notable for the absence of such foodstuffs as lentils and gruel, traditionally associated with the diet of slaves. Lentils do not occur at all, bean soup "for the boys" on just one occasion, for dinner at Antipatris during the journey home. The *alica*, or spelt-grits, found on three occasions had a number of culinary purposes, including the making of a sort of gruel or porridge, but it is not connected with the slaves and, to judge from the evidence of Apicius, was a more refined and versatile ingredient than we might imagine; it was used to make mussel rissoles and *isicia*, a sauce dressing for leg of pork, a savory stuffing, and, with honey, wine, pine-kernels, nuts, and pepper, a delectable sweet.⁸ Fine meal occurs once in an undated reference and may have more to do with medical treatment than with diet.⁹

On several occasions, Theophanes made special allowance for purchases for the slave-boys. On Pauni 25 he provided olives for their lunch, on Epeiph 27 drinks for them, on the following day "common wine for the boys"; then, an allowance for wine and "a cut of meat" on Mesore 8, and again for drinks on Mesore 9. A further item of expenditure on the *paidia*, on Epeiph 24, is now lost in a fragmentary entry. We already saw the possibility that the high expenditure on fine bread on Epeiph 15, when no common bread was purchased at all, reflects a special occasion, when the entire party of slaves was invited, as it were, to High Table to enjoy the same fare as their master.

If this was so, it was exceptional, not implying that Theophanes' slave followers regularly enjoyed the same diet as Theophanes himself. Whether or not Theophanes would have agreed with the sententious advice of the younger Pliny, in claiming collegiality with his freedmen by sharing their wine at table (rather than have them share his), it is worth noting that Pliny did not extend his concept of equality in the *familia* to its servile members. Yet Seneca had gone so far as to recommend sharing the slaves' table as one of the many ways in which humane masters should be kind to their slaves. Such advice, one suspects, was uttered for show rather than practice—unless such writers are making an ostentatious virtue of something that was

8. See the indexes to the editions of Apicius by Flower and Rosenbaum (1958) and André (1965), with appendix 2 on *P.Ryl.* 629.293.

9. *P.Ryl.* 629.5; it occurs close by "a sponge from the physician" (see below).

in fact a widespread social custom.¹⁰ Slaves are slaves, undoubtedly, but the purchases of food made “for the boys” show that Theophanes paid some attention to their needs and that some trouble was taken to save them from the monotony and nutritional limitations of a diet of bread and vegetables alone. Cato described a regime for agricultural slaves of wheat (larger allowances for working slaves than for supervisors), wine, olives, a version of fish sauce, vinegar, olive oil, and salt. All these items occur in the Theophanes memoranda, with mention of olives and wine, as well as the common bread listed every day, as provided specifically for the *paidia*. Cato is not so much prescribing an actual diet, however, as setting out a budget allowance for staple items needing to be provided by the master, and he adds elsewhere that it was among the duties of the bailiff’s wife to keep ready a supply of cooked food for her husband and the slave *familia*; this considerably widens the dietary possibilities for the slaves.¹¹ Theophanes’ slaves were living in a distinctly more sophisticated, urbane environment than Cato’s agricultural workers and might expect a correspondingly more elaborate provision.

The occasions in the Theophanes memoranda on which purchases are specifically recorded as for the *paidia* are no doubt only a proportion of those that were in fact made for them.¹² No one would argue that the slaves ate common bread and nothing else, and it is unlikely that of such regular components of Theophanes’ diet as pickled fish, cheese, eggs and, olives, as well as the wide range of vegetables and fruits that are listed, none found their way, by one means or another, onto their table. Hardworking slaves, as Cato understood, need proper nutrition—sufficient cereals to support their exertions and a balanced diet to maintain their health. There is also the question of leftovers from the master’s table. There is no reason to doubt that Theophanes’ slave attendants were sometimes able to sample the delicacies they served to their master, and any thoughtful cook might ensure that a little more fine food was prepared than was strictly needed; a careful distribution of the excess was one way in which his own privileged position within the household was maintained. To clamp down on harmless pilfering (so long as it does not become a matter of household discipline) is no way to ensure the goodwill of the servants.

For their part, it is likely that Theophanes’ more intimate associates, although they may frequently have dined with their master, did not do so on all occasions, especially when he had visitors to entertain and business to discuss. On such occasions, these associates no doubt dined sometimes by themselves, sometimes with the humbler slaves. The former situation would account for the entries in the memoranda attributing expenditure on drinks and bread “to us,” and the latter would explain how it is that higher purchases of fine bread are often matched by higher purchases of common bread also. Theophanes had to provide for his privileged guests,

10. Pliny, *Ep.* 2.6; Seneca, *Ep.* 47.

11. *De Agricultura* 56–58, 143.2.

12. Only on a few occasions (see below) does Theophanes actually record purchases of food as for lunch or dinner, but it is obvious that all purchases were for one or the other.

while his usual table companions joined the slaves of the household, creating a need for extra bread of both sorts (it is clear from the quantities listed that Theophanes' purchases of fine bread were never intended for himself alone). On occasions, expenditures are recorded "to you" in the singular, that is, to Theophanes himself, when for one reason or another he had dinner in his own company. The fresh or "tender" meat provided for Theophanes for dinner at Laodicea on Pachon 7 (before his dash to Antioch) is the most conspicuous example of this, but there are others.

The accounts show that Theophanes' expenditures were much higher in Pachon and the early part of Pauni than they were later. In Pachon there were some very heavy items related to large numbers of guests at table; examples are on Pachon 22, 24, and 25, when Theophanes bought wine and very large amounts of all types of bread, with an indication of the visitors and officials and their *paidia*, for whom they were provided.¹³ These high levels of expenditure continue into the early part of Pauni, and it is only after about Pauni 9 or 10 that Theophanes' purchases fall to the level they were to sustain thereafter. The explanation, clearly, is that there were fewer high-status guests to entertain and that they brought fewer of their slave attendants with them. It is possible, too, that some members of Theophanes' party who had accompanied him to Antioch were sent home early. An undated entry preceding the accounts for Pauni mentions an unknown person "returning to Hermopolis," but we have no way of telling when or why this occurred.¹⁴

Before we look more closely at the dietary habits of Theophanes and his party, it will be helpful to group the food items occurring in the memoranda according to the frequency with which they were purchased.¹⁵ (i) Among items bought on a daily or very frequent basis are bread in its two qualities (supplemented on certain occasions by *tourtia*), green vegetables or pot-herbs, gourds, and other ingredients for cooking; also eggs, olives, fruits of various kinds, including dried figs and nuts, and firewood. (ii) Bought more rarely but still for daily use were wine, oil in its two qualities, salad vegetables such as lettuces and cucumbers, cheese, meat and its products (*loukanika* and *isicia*), and fresh and pickled fish. (iii) Other staple products in constant use in the kitchen and at table included salt, vinegar, fish sauce, vermouth, honey and spices, and other types of oil; and (iv) bought rarely or once only were, under the general category of vegetables, onions and leeks, carrots, artichokes; also spelt-grits, mulberries and sycamore fruit, garlic, fine meal, and syrup; and, for lunch on one occasion, snails "for the boys."¹⁶ Absent entirely from the accounts are lentils, beans (except for the single mention of bean soup), and shellfish.¹⁷

13. Namely, the *officiales* (Pachon 22, 24), the "Panopolitai" (Pachon 22), the attendants of Apollon (Pachon 24) and (twice) of the *officialis* (Pachon 24, 25); *P.Ryl.* 639.133–35, 175ff.

14. *P.Ryl.* 629.6–7.

15. For full details, see chapter 7 and appendix 3.

16. This annotation is present in only one draft; see appendix 2.

17. The reference to chickpeas at *P.Ryl.* 627.268 I take not to be connected with the journey.

Certain items that occur very rarely seem to have a medicinal rather than a dietary role. At the very outset of his journey, while still at Babylon on Pharmouthi 6, Theophanes allowed 100 dr. for the purchase of powdered antimony, a chemical agent used in cosmetics and as an ointment, with other pharmacological uses.¹⁸ At the beginning of *P.Ryl.* 629, though in an uncertain connection with the subsequent records for the month Pauni, is a purchase of fine meal which, occurring in close connection to “another sponge from the physician,” suggests that someone suffered from a gastric upset, for which cornflower or barley soup is a well-tried remedy. Two references in the later part of the memoranda to scammony, in medical use as a diuretic, have succumbed to a reinterpretation of the Greek text; which leaves a purchase for 100 dr. of “beet for Eudaimon” on Pachon 21, the only reference to this vegetable in the entire memoranda. There seems no reason to note that Eudaimon was especially fond of them, but the medicinal uses of beet as a diuretic or mild laxative were well known. It is worth noting that, of five recipes for beet in Apicius’s cookbook, most were medicinal in purpose.¹⁹ Other items, such as vermouth (wormwood), had well-established medical uses but were not bought for this reason—unless, perhaps, as a precautionary tonic. It is hard to make a clear distinction, since ancient writers on foodstuffs generally considered them in relation to the healthy functioning of the body, and, conversely, medical remedies were heavily based upon diet. Mulberries, for example, which occur at least twice in the memoranda, were used as a remedy for a complaint of the mouth.²⁰

This gives little more than a general impression of the diet as a whole, but from time to time we find expenditures outside the usual pattern that may help us to analyze it more precisely. When on Pauni 22 Theophanes buys six fine loaves and again on Pauni 24 three fine loaves, on each occasion “for lunch with Antoninus,” it is natural to suppose that the amount of bread purchased has to do with the number of people expected for these lunches; as we saw earlier, Antoninus occurs only in the Antiochene section of the accounts and must be a working colleague from the ranks of the judicial or financial administration there. In the same way, from the fact that *tourtia*, or flatbread loaves, are, on six of the nine occasions when they occur, either connected with a named meal or mentioned in the same context as such a reference, we may conclude that these items had a distinct role in Theophanes’ plans.²¹ The entries are

18. It is found at *P.Oxy.* 8.1088 line 10, in a list of medical receipts, as a “good remedy for small discharges and wounds.”

19. *P.Ryl.* 630*.446, 487 with appendix 2. For beet, 639.98, with Hippocrates, *Regimen* 2.54; Galen, *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* 2.43, trans. Owen Powell (2003), pp. 101–02, or by Mark Grant, *Galen on Food and Diet* (2000), pp. 139; Apicius 3.67–71. See too Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 9.371a–b (ed. Loeb, vol. IV, pp. 180–81), 14.621e (ed. Loeb, vol. VI, pp. 348–49).

20. At *P.Ryl.* 629.1 mulberries (*moria*) precede “another sponge from the physician” (see above); cf. Galen, 2.11; trans. Powell, pp. 81–83; Grant, pp. 121–22.

21. *P.Ryl.* 629.26, 75 (direct references); 629.224, 321, 392; 639.177 (indirect). Other references are incompletely preserved.

always additional to the regular daily purchases of fine and common bread, and it is reasonable to suppose that they were bought with a particular meal in mind. On these occasions, Theophanes and some individual or invited group must have taken their meal separately from the party at large, for whom the general purchases of bread were intended.

Further indications are provided by the distribution in time of certain items of food and the quantities purchased. During the residence at Antioch, fresh fish (*opsaridia*) is bought less often than one might expect and in quite small amounts. The largest purchase is of 300 dr. for one pound of fish on Pauni 18; purchases of 200 and even 100 dr. for *opsaridia* imply small amounts for a limited number of consumers and suggest that still, as in Classical Athens, fish possessed its connotations of a refined cuisine; from its quantities alone, we can assume this item was not to be shared with the slaves. What may be the corresponding item in the later part of the memoranda, *exatilia*, are bought more regularly and for somewhat higher sums (on one occasion, with another, unknown item, for 1,000 dr.). This may mean either that prices were higher or that fish was a more important part of the party's diet on its journey home than it had been at Antioch; or, of course, both.

More insight into the eating habits of Theophanes' party is given by the references to meat. During the month of Pauni alone, Theophanes purchased a total of thirty-four Roman pounds, equivalent to twenty-four and a half English or American pounds, of meat, for immediate consumption or for salting—in either case, given its periodic recurrence in the memoranda, for eating within a matter of days; even salted meat was not kept for long. Despite a suggestion to the contrary, it is highly improbable that, at an average of more than three-quarters of an English pound of meat per day, Theophanes consumed all this meat himself.²² This was not in the style of the ancient cuisine, which consisted, not of great hunks of meat and mountains of vegetables served with it (Theophanes would have thought this a diet for barbarians), but of an array of separate dishes with many varied ingredients and a multiplicity of tastes, from which the diners would choose, taking small amounts from each one. If we allow Theophanes to have shared the meat with the more important of his colleagues at Antioch, Eudaimon and Silvanus, an average daily consumption of a third of a Roman (a quarter of an English) pound per person throughout an entire month is still as much as one would expect in a characteristic mixed diet (and there are also sausages as well as the fish to find room for). It is reasonable to conclude that the slave attendants in the party had a sight of the meat, probably in the form of soups and stews of what was left, or of the odds and ends chopped into homemade *isicia*, rather than the choice cuts served to the master and his guests.²³ On the journey home, meat

22. Drexhage, "Ein Monat in Antiochia," p. 6, writing (of Theophanes personally) that "the average daily consumption [of meat] seems not surprising for his social and economic position."

23. I am reminded of the nutritious main meals of my own childhood on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, ingeniously made from the diminishing remains of the joint that had been carved for the family on Sunday and served sliced cold on Monday.

was on one occasion specifically purchased for the slave personnel, and it does not seem likely that this was the only occasion on which such an assignment was made.

We saw in chapter 6 the special provision made by Theophanes for the needs of traveling, as the party set out on its return journey from Antioch on Epeiph 25 and later as it embarked on the barren coastal stretch from Rhinocolura to Ostrakine and left the high road at Pelusium for the journey across the desert (Mesore 10 and 13). Eggs, wine, and loaves (and fodder for the animals) were laid in as the party diverged from its regular way of life on the road and tackled the less well supplied sections of the journey. At the end of the journey we encounter, at Babylon on Mesore 17, payments of 2,600 dr. for the expenses of some sort of assembly or corporation (*koinon*) and, for what can now be seen as part of his preparations for the river journey back to Hermopolis, purchases of considerable amounts of bread and wine: of fine bread, 1,000 dr., or ten loaves at the standard price, and two undisclosed but obviously large measures of wine for a talent, or 6,000 dr.²⁴ On the same day are recorded separate purchases of wine at 1,700 dr. and 1,500 dr., each for the measure known as a knidion, and of 400 dr. for vermouth, whether for the *koinon* or the boat journey is unclear.²⁵ After his departure from Babylon, Theophanes' expenditures diminish sharply. All he needed to buy in these last few days were supplies of fresh bread, which could be found at riverside towns and villages passed on the way.

We can assume that Theophanes' morning meal took the traditional form of bread dipped in undiluted wine (hence its name in Greek, *akratisma*, "unmixed"). The meal, what we might call Theophanes' true breakfast, was taken very early in the day.²⁶ It is never individually mentioned in the accounts; the constituents of the meal were available in bread and wine left over from the previous day, and there was no need to buy for it specifically. What sensible person would insist on having the day's new bread to dunk in wine?

The accounts quite often mention items purchased for *ariston*, a midday meal taken at what we would call lunchtime. So on Pauni 2 we find listed for lunch 600 dr. for six *tourtia* and nuts and dried figs priced together at 200 dr. (they were also bought for dinner on the same day at 100 dr.). On Pauni 8, we find smoked sausages (*loukanika*) for lunch with Eulogius, followed by a sequence of contributions for lunch with Antoninus—on Pauni 15, olives at 100 dr. and two *tourtia*; on Pauni 20, 100 dr. for pickled fish; on Pauni 22 (as on Pauni 24) 200 dr. for the general costs of the lunch, also 400 dr. for eggs, and four *tourtia*; on Pauni 27, two sextarii of wine and one *tourtion*. Other lunchtime purchases include cucumbers (Epeiph

24. This interpretation derives from a rereading of the papyrus; see appendix 2 on *P.Ryl.* 630*.531 and 536.

25. For the "Cnidian measure," see Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 1.28c (ed. Loeb, vol. I, p. 123); for its value, Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation*, p. 8, and appendix 2, note on *P.Ryl.* 630*.475, 536. The 6,000 dr. could be for the measure known as the double knidion.

26. *Deipnosophistae* 1.11b–f (ed. Loeb, vol. I, pp. 48–51); above, chapter 5 n. 8.

17), cheese (Epeiph 19), and more eggs (Epeiph 20). These entries are all during the period of Theophanes’ residence at Antioch; at various points on the homeward journey from Antioch were bought for lunch fine loaves (Mesore 7, 8), grapes (Mesore 11) and snails “for the boys” (Mesore 13),²⁷ wine and some meat, likewise “for the boys” (Mesore 8), and, on many occasions, wine.

Evidently, these scattered references give us possible components of a midday meal but nothing like an actual menu. In fact, there is little discernible difference between these items and those listed as bought for dinner (*deipnon*), the main meal of the day. Among them we find again nuts and dried figs (on Pauni 2, 4, and 5), *tourtia* (Pauni 5), additional fine loaves (Epeiph 18, 28, 30, Mesore 7, etc.), eggs (Epeiph 20, Mesore 10), cheese (Mesore 11), and wine. More revealing than the mere presence of such items of food, which might be bought indifferently for either main meal of the day, are references to the purchase of vegetable ingredients, such as gourds and green vegetables, wine, and on one occasion firewood, “for cooking,” that is to say, for the evening meal.²⁸ The main difference between lunch and dinner was not just a question of ingredients, but the fact that dinner included cooked courses, while lunch (especially in the circumstances of travel) usually did not. The memoranda do not imply, and it was not the case, that dinner consisted *entirely* of cooked courses, but of such courses in combination with the sort of uncooked or prepared dishes that might also be served for the midday meal. With such items as nuts and dried figs, eggs, cheese, and olives appearing in the lists for both lunch and dinner, we are perhaps in a position to imagine some possible tables of fare for the main meals of Theophanes’ day.

On five occasions in Pauni, Theophanes recorded expenditures on “lunch with Antoninus.” This annotation is usually limited to one or at most two of the items purchased for the particular meal, but if we take the items in context it may be possible to suggest what was served for lunch on these particular days. The entries for Pauni 22, for instance, begin as follows:

For lunch with Antoninus,	200 dr.
six fine loaves,	600 dr.
common loaves for the boys,	600 dr.
<i>tourtia</i> , four,	400 dr.
sausages (<i>loukanika</i>),	200 dr.
eggs for lunch,	400 dr.
cheese,	200 dr.
cucumbers,	100 dr.

27. See n. 16 above.

28. Firewood was bought for this purpose almost every day. For entries “for cooking,” see *PRyl.* 629.93, 210, 308, 326. At 308 green vegetables (*lachana*) have been written in for gourds.

Between the unattributed sum of 200 dr. “for lunch with Antoninus” and the relatively large sum of 400 dr. for “eggs for lunch,” we find, after the usual daily allowances for fine and common bread, one of 400 dr. for four *tourtia*. This type of loaf or flatbread is on other occasions connected explicitly with lunch or dinner and listed in addition to the regular purchases of bread for the day, and since this is so here, I would infer that the four *tourtia* were also intended for the lunch with Antoninus. After the *tourtia* but before “eggs for lunch” comes 200 dr. on *loukanika*, which we otherwise find taken for lunch with Eulogius on Pauni 8; we can happily add them to the lunch menu on Pauni 22. Cheese is mentioned for lunch on Epeiph 19, and since it occurs in a similar context on Pauni 15 (see below), we may suppose it too was on Theophanes’ and Antoninus’s lunch table on Pauni 22.²⁹ Whether the same applies to the cucumbers that follow is uncertain. The next entries after the cucumbers, “gourds for cooking” and “firewood,” shift our attention from lunch to dinner, and the cucumbers might belong to either.

Looking back at Pauni 15, we find a similar pattern of entries:

cost of fine loaves	400 dr.
common loaves for the boys	600 dr.
soap	200 dr.
olives for lunch with Antoninus	100 dr.
cheese	100 dr.
<i>tourtia</i>	200 dr.
sausages	200 dr.
nuts and dried figs	200 dr.
apricots	100 dr.
eggs	200 dr.

After the regular purchases of fine and common bread and one of soap, we come to “olives for lunch with Antoninus,” followed by cheese at 100 dr. and *tourtia* at 200 dr. (for two loaves). I would guess that the *tourtia*, like the olives, were bought for the lunch and that the cheese belongs with the items each side of it. Then follow *loukanika*, nuts and dried figs, apricots, and eggs. We have seen *loukanika* provided for lunch with Eulogius on Pauni 8, and nuts and dried figs were connected with lunch for the same figure of 200 dr. on Pauni 2. The next items on Pauni 15, from green vegetables to firewood, clearly belong to dinner for that day. It is possible that all the preceding items—olives, cheese, *tourtia*, sausages, nuts and dried figs, apricots, and eggs, to which we must obviously add wine—formed part of Theophanes’ lunch with Antoninus on Pauni 15.

29. For prices and quantities, see above, chapter 7; the sums given here might buy about sixteen eggs, half a pound of *loukanika*, and one pound of cheese.

Other, less extensive groups of entries help us to fill out the picture. On Pauni 27 Theophanes accounted for expenditure (the figure is lost) on two sextarii of wine “for lunch with Antoninus” and on the same day 100 dr. for a single *tourtion*—also, I imagine, part of the lunch. On Pauni 8, following the 200 dr. spent on *loukanika* for lunch with Eulogius, we also find entries for fresh figs and cheese at 200 and 100 dr., respectively.

The entry for Pauni 2 is especially interesting, both because of its length and because it lists items bought for both main meals of the day. It is here set out in full:

cost of fine loaves	800 dr.
common loaves for the boys	1,200 dr.
meat, 4 lbs.	1,200 dr.
eggs	400 dr.
<i>tourtia</i> for lunch	600 dr.
sausages	400 dr.
cheese	200 dr.
pickled fish	100 dr.
olives	100 dr.
(fresh) fish	300 dr.
nuts and dried figs for lunch	200 dr.
green vegetables	100 dr.
firewood	200 dr.
ordinary olive oil	700 dr.
a spathion of wine	2,800 dr.
<i>kemoraphanos</i>	100 dr.
nuts and dried figs for dinner	100 dr.
leeks	100 dr.
Total for the day	1 tal. 3,700 dr. ³⁰

The entry belongs to the early part of Theophanes’ stay at Antioch, before his daily costs had fallen to their more typical later level. The figures for both fine and common bread are very high and indicate large numbers at Theophanes’ table—the occasion resembles some of those seen in Pachon, when Theophanes entertained important visitors together with their slave attendants. The 800 dr. spent on fine bread would have bought eight one-pound loaves, while the 1,200 spent on common bread might have bought something like eighteen loaves of lesser quality; this is certainly more slave attendants than Theophanes brought with him on the journey to Antioch. Theophanes also spent no less than 600 dr. on *tourtia*—that is six of these flatbread loaves in addition to the eight loaves of fine bread of the usual sort. We have

30. Just for the record: the total for the day is correct.

entries for nuts and dried figs for lunch as well as for dinner, at 200 and 100 dr. for the two meals, respectively. Of the other items listed, I would imagine that, as well as the *tourtia* and nuts and dried figs which are explicitly assigned to lunch, we should include at least some of the eggs (400 dr. is a large purchase, paralleled for lunch on Pauni 22) as well as the sausages and cheese, possibly also the pickled fish and olives. The purchases of olive oil and wine were large-scale general provisions, applied without distinction to lunch or dinner and enjoyed at either meal. This leaves for dinner (in part a cooked meal, as we can see at once from the presence of firewood) green vegetables, leeks, and *kemoraphanos*, some eggs, perhaps at the beginning of the meal; *opsaridia*, or fresh fish, a portion of the four pounds of meat purchased on that day, moving on to nuts and dried figs for dessert, with bread and generous quantities of wine to accompany the meal. It makes for a varied and satisfying dinner, and one that did not require very elaborate resources to prepare; with their daily purchases of firewood, it could be cooked and served in their rented accommodation by Theophanes' household staff. It is likely that a relatively high proportion of the four pounds of meat bought on Pauni 2 was consumed at this meal, since on the very next day Theophanes records a further purchase of no fewer than nine pounds of meat for salting (and the salt to do the job). On the other hand the rest of his purchases on Pauni 3 are relatively modest, suggesting there might have been food left over from the preceding day—or, of course, that someone else returned the favor, as must have happened from time to time, and invited him out. It is equally possible that those who came to share Theophanes' table on Pauni 2 brought contributions of their own, in which case the dinner was more lavish than it seems.

A final example, already described briefly in chapter 6, is a particularly well documented entry for a day, Mesore 8, on the journey home. It is one of the fullest and most informative day's records in the entire memoranda:

at Abella	
vermouth	200 dr.
loaves for us, for lunch	200 dr.
pork meat	100 dr.
wine, for lunch	200 dr.
common loaves for the boys	800 dr.
for the same, for wine and	
a cut of meat	200 dr.
at Ascalon	
fine loaves, for dinner	300 dr.
grapes	100 dr.
(fresh) figs	100 dr.
peaches	100 dr.
apples	100 dr.

[.]	100 dr.
leeks	100 dr.
reduced wine	400 dr.
plums	300 dr.
more peaches, [by ch]oice (?)	100 dr.
ordinary wine	500 dr.
fish-sauce, one xestes	200 dr.
vinegar	200 dr.
gourds	100 dr.
<i>kemia</i>	100 dr.
firewood	100 dr.
eggs	200 dr.
<i>exatilia</i>	400 dr.
Total for the day	6,300 dr.

The entry covers the day's journey from Antipatris to Ascalon, with a lunchtime stop at Abella, for which Theophanes accounted for two fine loaves and wine. Also purchased at Abella were vermouth, pork(?) meat (the reading is uncertain) for the low cost of 100 dr., a large purchase of common loaves for the boys, and "wine and a cut of meat," also for the slaves. It seems probable that, with the likely exception of the small piece of (pork) meat these items were for use at dinner—Theophanes probably did not consume both vermouth and regular wine for lunch while on the road, and 800 dr. on common bread for the slaves is far more than would be needed for lunch only. The long list of further items bought at Ascalon suggests an especially pleasant evening meal in that city. For Theophanes and his friends there were three more fine loaves, while the slaves no doubt consumed the bulk of the twelve loaves or so provided by the 800 dr. spent at Abella. The vermouth bought at Abella could now be enjoyed as an aperitif, and the ordinary wine bought at Ascalon for 500 dr. taken as an accompaniment to the meal. There were eggs to form part of a traditional opening course, and meat, from the six pounds bought at Betaros the day before; and, for the slaves a "cut of meat" and some wine bought for them, also at Abella. Perhaps preceding the meat, there was fresh fish, if this is what *exatilia* were, and fish sauce, reduced wine, and vinegar for use in cooking. That the meal was in part a cooked one is shown by the presence of firewood, leeks, and gourds, and there is a wide choice of fruits for dessert: grapes, fresh figs, peaches, apples, plums. It is all there, *ab ovo usque ad mala*—"from egg to apples," a Roman proverb meaning something seen through from beginning to end. Theophanes had the ingredients for a full dinner in the Roman style, and this is what the party enjoyed at Ascalon. On this occasion the slaves apparently did not share their master's table, but they too were well provided for.

[To view this image, refer to
the print version of this title.]

Fig. 8.1. The Mosaic of the Buffet Supper. Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton, 1947).

Readers of the memoranda will find opportunities elsewhere to recreate Theophanes' diet on particular days and might even try to reassemble some possible meals by using culinary texts, such as Apicius, to suggest menus based on ingredients listed in the memoranda. In doing so, they might also look to the abundant visual record. Pictures of food displays, often very beautiful and of elegant workmanship, are ubiquitous in the visual arts in all the genres—mosaics, painted frescoes, sculptured artifacts—that have come to us from the time of the Roman empire. In what we would call still-life images, they show items of food—fruit and vegetables, birds and fish—in their natural state or as prepared for the table, together with the elaborate furnishings and tableware used for their service. In most cases, the images are individually decorative without forming a narrative ensemble, but there is a famous exception, which since it happens to be of Antiochene provenance and from the late imperial period, is apposite to the evidence about food and diet provided by the Theophanes memoranda. From a residential villa at Daphne known from this mosaic as the House of the Buffet Supper comes a fine picture showing the typical elements of a Roman meal in the sequence in which they might have been served.³¹ In a way the mosaic is a counterpart to the topographical border presented in chapter 4, and it is used here as a way of setting some of the food items listed in the Theophanes memoranda in the context of an exemplary Roman meal.

The meal is displayed on a horseshoe shaped table, the *stibadium* increasingly in use in

31. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, vol. I, pp. 132–67, with much supporting detail; vol. II, pl. XXIV; Fatih Cimok (ed.), *Antioch Mosaics* (1995, repr. 1999), p. 47; Chr. Kondoleon (ed.), *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, p. 183.

the late Roman period, replacing the more familiar *triclinium* arrangement of three straight couches arranged in the shape of an open rectangle.³² The sequence of courses shown in the mosaic, read from right to left in what we would call clockwise order, is presented around the semicircular table surface on silver trays of alternating shapes. Before them appear, scattered more casually on the table, some of the round flat rolls of bread, incised on the surface ready to be broken into sections, as they appear in a vivid Pompeian fresco and frequently elsewhere (there is even a carbonized example surviving from a baker's shop in Pompeii).³³

The meal is shown with representative dishes in its sequence of three courses, or rather main divisions, of the meal: the *gustatio*, or *frigida mensa*, a cold course consisting of a range of appetizers; then the *cena*, or dinner proper, which might in practice consist of a sequence of or choice between various options of meat and fish; and third, the *secundae mensae*, or dessert dishes, consisting of a selection of fruit, nuts, and sweets. Representing the *gustatio* in the mosaic are a pair of boiled eggs in their eggcups, with the characteristic long-handled spoons often found in silver treasures and archaeological deposits in Roman sites, together with two pig's trotters and two artichokes. These items, all of which occur in the Theophanes memoranda, are shown on a round silver platter with a beaded gilt edge, and in their center is a small dish containing a sharp sauce which, diluted with wine, gave an edge to the flavor of the food. Hanging over the side of the table are what look like some sort of cold vegetable, and above the platter appears a garland.

The main courses begin with a fish (it might even be a gilt-head) set out on a rectangular silver tray. This would be the first dish in the main part of the dinner, and it is followed by a ham on a circular dish with a beaded rim. Also shown are another garland and a large wine cup and two more dishes, one containing some sort of poultry.

Damage to the mosaic makes it impossible to tell what came next, whether another meat course belonging to the *cena* proper or the fruit that might be served at this point to refresh the palate. At the end of the sequence, however, is shown a sweet or dessert course, a layer cake on a round silver dish. At each end of the display, in balancing positions, are shown two silver *paterae*, or ladles with long handles, as used for the serving of wine.

Ancient satirists and social commentators found in food excess (as often imagined as real) one of their chief instruments of moral denunciation. The diet of Theophanes and his partners in the journey to Antioch offers no grounds for comment of this sort. His memoranda show that he and his party enjoyed a typical Mediterranean diet of the time, varied and well furnished in an upper-class fashion (from which, as we have seen, his slaves were not

32. See Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, pp. 127–29 on the *stibadium*, and above, chapter 3, for possible examples of sigma- (crescent-) shaped linenware among the household inventories in 627.42,185.

33. Illustrations of both items can readily be found but are particularly fine in the recent volume edited by F. Coarelli, *Pompeii* (English trans. by Patricia A. Cockram, 2002), pp. 138–40 (commentary by E. de Albentis).

excluded altogether). They ate and drank as well as circumstances permitted and their status required, but with restraint. They were at Antioch for a serious purpose, which as far as we can see they performed conscientiously. There is much we do not know about Theophanes and his journey. On the other hand we rarely see as much as his memoranda show us about people of his class in the context of their daily lives. They deserve their moment of attention, for they have more to tell us about the social life of the Roman empire as it was than do the preoccupations of the moralists from whom we so often hear about it.

Appendix 1 *P.Ryl. 627*: Summary of Contents

THE TRANSLATION of *P.Ryl. 627* given in chapter 3 is divided into three parts: (1) the six columns of inventory; (2) the preparations for Theophanes' journey and the journey itself, reconstructed in chronological order—these sections of the papyrus also contain business matters preceding the journey and not connected with it; (3) the itineraries for the outward journey. There is nothing remotely resembling in detail or continuity the daily accounts of Theophanes' homeward journey, presented in chapter 6.

The following is a summary of the contents of the papyrus in the order in which they appear there. Recto and verso are each written in nine columns, in which inventories of clothing, foodstuffs, and household items, summaries of accounts, records of expenditures, and sections of itineraries are intermingled with sections that have nothing to do with Theophanes' journey. The large sums of money received and paid out in connection with the transactions of the “previous month” in recto col. vii, for example, and the materials used in the manufacture of linen mentioned in recto col. vi for the later part of Phamenoth, suggest a connection with Theophanes' current business activities rather than with plans for a forthcoming journey. On the other hand, the presence of some *officiales* for a midday meal on Phamenoth 18 already suggests the involvements with agencies of the central government that were to take Theophanes on his journey to Antioch.

Recto

Col. i, lines 1–26

Inventory; clothing and linens

Col. ii, lines 27–42

Inventory; coverings and outer garments

Col. iii, lines 43–64 (fragmentary)

Inventory; household equipment

Col. iv, lines 65–89

Inventory; provisions

Col. v, lines 90–120

90–99 accounts of oil and wine; unconnected with journey (cf. 130–41)?

100–107 expenditures for Phamenoth 27–30 (“on the boat,” 100) (cf. 121–29, 250–56)

108–20 Pharmouthi 1–2 at Babylon; meals and other expenditures for soldier, *officiales*, departing sailors (cont. at 142)

Col. vi, lines 121–29

Expenditures on Phamenoth 23, 24, 18, in that order (*officiales* at 129)
(cf. 100–107, 250–56)

Col. vii, lines 130–54

130–41 accounts “from the previous month” and totals for expenditure at Antinoopolis (?emissary of *katholikos* at 138); extraneous to journey?

142–54 expenditures for Pharmouthi 2–5 at Babylon (cont. from 108–20; cf. 188–201)

Col. viii, lines 155–87

Inventory; household articles (cf. cols. i–iv)

Col. ix, lines 188–208

188–201 expenditures for Pharmouthi 7–8 at Babylon (cont. from 142–54)

202–08 expenditures for Pharmouthi 11–12 at Athribis

Verso

Col. i, lines 209–22 (in two sections, 209–14, 214b–22; line 214 is inadvertently numbered twice by the editor)

[[210–11 Heracleopolis, Babylon deleted]]

212–14 expenditures at Pelusium, Ascalon

214b–20 (bottom of col.) temple, theatre, odeion (at Ascalon?)

221–22 repeated from 92–94; unconnected with journey?

Col. ii, lines 223–49

Outward itinerary (cont. at col. viii below)

Col. iii, lines 250–64

250 expenditure on wine “on the boat” (cf. 100)

251–56 expenditures for Phamenoth 21 (no place) and for 27 at Babylon
(cf. 100–107, 121–29)

257–60 expenditures for Pharmouthi 16–18 (cf. 202–08, ?265–68)
 261 “the new account”
 262–64 (bottom of col.) receipts of money, Pharmouthi 18 at Pelusium (cf. 212),
 23 at Gaza

Col. iv, lines 265–87

265–68 expenditures for (?Pharmouthi) 13
 269–77 expenditures on Pachon 3 (no place), 4 at Antarados, 5 at Balaneia
 (line 276 at Laodicea, cf. 288–92)
 [[278–79 deleted]]
 282 expenditure for Pharmouthi 26 at Caesarea
 284–85 expenditure for Pharmouthi 28, daughter’s birthday
 286–87 at Sidon, Berytus

Col. v, lines 288–306

288–92 expenditures at Laodicea (cf. 276)
 293–300, expenditures for Pachon 8, 9, 10 (296 ref. to expenditure at Caesarea,
 cf. 282)
 [[301–02 deleted]]

Col. vi, lines 307–11

Unlocated expenditures (offset to right at foot of col. v)

Col. vii, lines 312–23

312 expenditures on “private account”—
 313–14 Pharmouthi 18 at Raphia (cf. 263–64)
 315–16 Pharmouthi 24 at Ascalon (cf. 214–20)
 317–23 Pharmouthi 25–30, no places

Col. viii, lines 324–33

Outward itinerary (cont. from col. ii above)

Col. ix, lines 334–49

334–47 inventory (cf. recto cols, i–iv, viii); miscellaneous articles
 348–49 monetary totals.

The following is a summary of the reconstructed order of the papyrus:

Recto cols. i–v and viii, verso col. ix, inventories.

Recto col. v, lines 90–99 + 130–41 ending “expenses at Antinoopolis”;

Recto col. vi, lines 121–29 mentioning Phamenoth 23, 24, 18 (in that order but clearly
 belonging together);

Verso col. iii, lines 250–56, Phamenoth 21, 27, listing expenses for wine “on the boat”
 and apparent arrival at Babylon on 27.

Recto col. v, lines 100–107, Phamenoth 27–30 inclusive;

Recto col v, lines 108–20, Pharmouthi 1–2 at Babylon;

Recto col. vii, lines 142–54, Pharmouthi 2–5 at Babylon;
 Recto col. ix, lines 188–201, [Pharmouthi] [6], 7–8 [9, 10] at Babylon;
 Recto col. ix, lines 202–08, [Pharmouthi] 11–12, at Athribis;
 Verso col. iv, lines 265–68, [Pharmouthi] 13;
 Verso col. iii, lines 257–62 (bottom of column), Pharmouthi 16–18, 23 at Pelusium (262)
 and Gaza (263);
 Verso col. i, lines 212–20 expenses at Pelusium and Ascalon;
 Verso col. iv, lines 282–87, [Pharmouthi] 26, 28, at Caesarea, Sidon, Berytus;
 Verso col. iv, lines 270–79, Pachon 3–5, at Antarados (271), Balanea (272), Laodicea (276);
 Verso col. v, lines 288–300, Pachon 8, 9, 11 members of the party coming from or staying
 at Laodicea.
 The story continues with *P.Ryl.* 639 (see chapter 5).

Appendix 2 Notes on the Text

THE APPENDIX is not intended as a full commentary. It merely offers annotations on those passages in which an interpretation of the memoranda has been suggested by familiarity with Roberts's published text and by such observations as I have been able to make from the comparison of this text with the original papyri. In translating the memoranda, I have given interpretations of fragmentary entries only when there is some positive reason for a specific reading. I have not guessed at words where only one or a few letters are visible and there are no other indications of the sense. I have marked as fragmentary lines in which only a few characters or strings of letters with no obvious sense were shown by Roberts and have added queries where my judgment is more cautious than his. In cases when I remark that letters cannot or can hardly be read, it must be borne in mind that the writing on papyri sometimes fades over time, so that Roberts may have detected letters or traces of letters that cannot now be seen; I am not in a position to be sure that letters that cannot now be read were never there. I mark uncertain letters (with a subscript dot) only when the uncertainty bears on the interpretation. In a very few cases I give the extant letters of incomplete words, in case other readers of the text can see interpretations that escape me. The Greek words for the foodstuffs and other listed items in the memoranda can be found together with their translations in appendix 3. It is essential to use the latest edition of LSJ⁹ (with Revised Supplement, 1996), which contains many more references to papyrological sources than earlier editions.

(i) P.Ryl. 627 *Phamenoth to Pachon*

For a description of this complicated papyrus, see chapter 3 above. The following comments on the text are given in the order in which they occur on the papyrus, which differs from that of the translation (see appendix 1 for the original order). References are given to column and line.

RECTO COL. I

The marginal marks by lines **6**, **10**, **11** and **41** (the last two were missed by Roberts) do not lend much support to Roberts's idea that they stood for ζ(ήτησον), "search for," and we saw reason to question his idea that the lists in cols. i–iv (and others) were packing lists. If the mark, which resembles an italicized capital Z with an extra downward stroke, does in fact stand for ζ(ήτησον), its meaning may simply indicate that the entry needs checking; cf. A. K. Bowman, *JRS* 75 (1985), p. 143 n. 35. The marks beside lines 7 and 8, printed by Roberts as slashes, appear on the papyrus as horizontal dashes.

18a After **18** Roberts missed an entry σαβάνια (Latin *sabanum*), "towels" (with no number), cf. σαβανοφακιάρ(ιον), "face towel," at **16**.

23–26 are largely indecipherable. Roberts's γανυ[άκ]ης is possible at **25** (if so, the word also occurs in a slightly different sense at **30**), but there are more missing letters on the papyrus than are shown by his βαλ[. .]μφο[at **26**. The translation distinguishes this last item from the βαλανάρια of line **15**, but there is no telling what the true difference is.

RECTO COL. II

29 περίστρω(μα) ακα() Roberts, but the letters ακα() cannot be seen on the papyrus.

30 γαννάκης is written for καυνάκης, an Assyrian loanword meaning a "frilled and flounced mantle" (according to LSJ⁹, p. 932). See previous note on line **25**.

34 καλλίκιν is written for καλίγιον (Latin *caliga*), "boot," in this case evidently a pair of boots (LSJ⁹, p. 164). Similarly in line **35** οὐδωνάρ(ιον) is so expanded by Roberts as a singular, but it does not take much imagination to see the item as a pair of slippers.

36 τυλοτάπης is understood by LSJ⁹, Suppl., p. 297, as perhaps a kind of cushion. The idea is of a swelling or stuffed carpet, hence my translation "mattress."

42 σινδόνιν σιγματυρ(). The τ in σιγματυρ() is secure, cf. line **185**. The proposed realization σιγμάτουρος, "with a tail like a sigma," attributed by Roberts to a press reader (p. xvii of his ed.; noted at *BL* 3, p. 163) can safely be ignored. The reference is perhaps to linen for curved dinner tables, as described at chapter 3 n. 8 above and in chapter 8.

No quantities are given for the items in **38–42**. In some cases a line is drawn on the papyrus from the end of the word to the right-hand margin of the column.

RECTO COL. III

43–51 and **57–62** are extremely fragmentary. Roberts's ζ[ωμάρυσ]τρον is possible at **49**. The readings at **52–56** are correct as far as they go and permit partial translation. "Iron rings" at **53** is from the conjectural but likely reading κ[ρίκου]ς σιδηροῦς.

63–64 The large numbers of items in these chests (χηλωτά) might be explained by their being garments of slaves. We have established that the lists are household inventories, not packing lists.

RECTO COL. IV

74 Roberts's αἰλαι οἶν(ου) ξ(έσται) is a problem, since the first word has no obvious meaning and is so entered in his Index XII (p. 197), s.v. *αιλη. He was right in saying that the reading of these letters is "not in doubt," but those of οἶν(ου) are very uncertain, and Kalleris, p. 697 n. 1, could be right in proposing αἰλαιῶν ξ(έσται), for ἐλαιῶν, "olives" (measured by the *xestes* at *Ed. Diocl.* 6.91). B. Olsson, *Gnomon* 24 (1952), p. 438, suggested ἐλαί(ου) ξ(έσται), but he had not seen the papyrus, and olive oil already appears at **69** ἐλαίου μετρ(ηταί); *BL* 3, p. 163; 5, p. 88.

78 κνίδ(ιον), not κνίδ(ια); *BL* 11, p. 190 (R. Bagnall).

82 The reading βάσκυλα (Latin *vascula*) is secure.

88 ἀπλοπότια, possibly "articles to do with pure drink"? The translation is purely speculative.

89 κάρπιμα is corrected on the papyrus from the misspelling κάρπομα.

RECTO, COL. V

There are spaces in the text after line **96** (as shown by Roberts) and **99** (not shown by him).

96 The readings Ἑρμησίον and 98 [Ἀρπά]λου are both very insecure (but cf. **132**, where Ἀρπά-λου is complete).

120 [ὀψ]ἔ εἰς δῖπνον. [ὀψ]ἔ, which would mean "a later entry" or "late in the day," is a possible restoration, but the one surviving letter of the word is not visible on the papyrus. δῖπνον is written for the Classical δεῖπνον ("dinner").

RECTO COL. VI

This is an informal cluster of notes more or less forming an untidy sixth column. There is a space after **128**, separating an entry for the 18th of a month (Phamenoth?) from those preceding for Phamenoth 23 and 24; but the word ὁμ[οί(ως)] ("ditto") in both **128** and **129** suggests that these two entries are connected.

RECTO COL. VII

137 The reading Ἐρμίνω μικ(ρῶ) βοηθ(ῶ) (sc. *adiutor*) is safe, though the entry has nothing to do with the journey.

138 Roberts's reading παρ[ὰ τοῦ καθολ]ικ(οῦ) ἐλ(θόντι) is uncertain in the extreme. Only the first three letters of the line can be clearly read.

146 The reading ἀπ[ὸ Ἑρμο]ῦ (πόλεως) is self-evidently extremely doubtful.

153 Roberts missed the symbol ς for 6 (Pharmouthi) (2–5 of the month are indicated in the preceding lines). For the meaning of ὀψαρίδια here and elsewhere (**627.195**, **629.31**, **264.630***, **510**, etc.) see chapter 7 n. 37.

RECTO, COL. VIII

158 λιγγούρ(ιον) is written for λιγύριον, a kind of precious (or semiprecious) stone. Its identity is not certain, but at Septuagint Exodus 28.19 (cf. Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 3.168) it appears among the series of stones specified for the breast garment of the high priest. English versions of Exodus translate (unhelpfully) as “ligure” (AV), or “jacinth” (RV, RSV), which is the translation adopted here. It is the only item in this book for which I claim biblical authority.

160, **161**, and **166** list types of dyed wool, measured by the pound weight, as at **166**. **160** ὀξύτυρ(ία) is not sharp cheese but bright dyed Tyrian purple, cf. *Ed. Diocl.* 24.4 and LSJ⁹, p. 229. At line **161** ἄπλιν is single-dyed wool, as at *Ed. Diocl.* 24.5 πορφύρας ἀπλίου, cf. 29.35, 41, 47 (LSJ⁹, Suppl., p. 42; earlier editions of LSJ are inaccurate). For **166**, τυρο(ῦ) βιθυρ() λι(τρ.) ς, compare the word δίθυρος for a bivalve shellfish (LSJ⁹, p. 427; θύρα is the valve), so “shellfish-dyed wool, 6 lbs.”

165 The letters ανεμουρ() βιβραδ() are clear; cf. B. Olsson, *Gnomon* 24 (1952), p. 439 (*BL* 3, p. 163) for the resolution ἀνεμούρ(ιον) βιβραδ(ίκον). βιβραδίκον, from the Latin *vibrare*, suggests some sort of fan (Greek ἄνεμος, “wind”) with moving parts.

176 ἄλλ() ὁμοί(ως) π[. . .] should refer to something already listed, so I suggest π[ηνία], “spools,” as at **169**. Lines **177–83** are too fragmentary to translate.

183 ἐντολικ() has to do with instructions; I suggest “order[-book],” but there are obviously other possibilities.

185 The reading should be σιγμάτια, not -για, cf. line **42**.

RECTO, COL IX

188 τιμ(ῆς) κρικίων γ εἰς τὰς πυκ(). The letters πυκ cannot be clearly read. At the end of the line, Roberts overlooked the letter λ for 30 dr., which neatly fits the number of rings.

190 Boots for Horos; Roberts has τιμ(ῆς) καλικ(ῶν) Ὡροῦ τ, but the papyrus shows a clear letter, apparently λ, before the τ. However, the number 30 followed by 300 makes no sense, and

so I take the λ as A, giving the figure of 1,300 dr. Cf. *Ed. Diocl.* 9.5a, “boots for mule drivers or farmworkers, without hobnails, pair, 120 den. (= 480 dr.)”

192, 198, 206 Roberts read κερμίων in all three places. The word is the same in all three but very hard to decipher.

199 The word μετά was written in later.

Lines **202–08** are marked off by a box drawn round them.

207 After the letters ιβ for the date (Pharmouthi 12), the rest of the line, τιμῆς νίτρου δρ. σ, is struck out.

VERSO COL. I

Verso is written across the fibers. Lines **210–11** have been deleted, and **221–22**, which actually appear at the top of col. ii, are stray notes unconnected with the journey.

VERSO COL. II

The places and figures in the outward itinerary at **223–49**, with col. viii, lines **324–33**, have been checked from the papyrus.

VERSO COL. III

256–57 is apparently a periodic entry in the manner later familiar from the month Pauni. Read something like ἀναλώματα [ἀπὸ . . / ε]ἰς ιζ Φαρμ[οῦθ]ι καὶ αὐτὴν κτλ; “expenses from the [. .] to the 17th Pharmouthi inclusive.”

VERSO COL. IV

271 Ἀντάραβος is written by mistake for -δος. It is a natural error for a scribe from Egypt.

The two deleted lines at **278–79** referring to expenditure of 1,000 dr. for Sarmatians reappear with only slight discrepancies at **309–11**.

VERSO COL. V

293 The word for “lodging,” ταβέρνιον, is formed as a Greek diminutive (-ιον) from the Latin *taverna*. Here and elsewhere (**630*.293, 375, 396**) it is used to refer to a lodging house (or *mansio*) for travelers.

293–96 are generally very hard to read.

VERSO COL. VI

307–11, published by Roberts as verso col. vi, in fact appear as a little group of notes offset to the right at the bottom of col. v. They are reentered from deleted notes in cols. iv and v.

VERSO COL. VIII

See above, s. verso col. ii

VERSO COL. IX

The contents of this column are very assorted, and the individual entries may have little or nothing to do with each other. The lack of context makes the restoration of uncertain entries extremely difficult.

333 The compiler wrote δαξιάρ(χω), then corrected the initial δ to τ. The change may have something to do with the way the word was pronounced.

335 The letters for the number 172 (ρoβ) have been deleted at the beginning of the line.

339 ξύλ() ἀλ[λ Roberts. ξύλ(ων) is the usual word for firewood but can refer more generally to wood cut for any purpose (such as prepared timber).

343 For δεμά(τια) ξυλ[. . . as “bundles of firewood,” cf. *Ed. Diocl.* 6.37 ἐρεβίνθου χλωροῦ δεμάτια, “bundles of green chickpeas.”

345 The word καμπιστρ() “loincloth, girdle,” is preceded by the letters πηχοτ(). This may be connected with πῆχυς, “cubit,” but I cannot make sense of this meaning.

346 καβιδίων β [. . .] has received varying interpretations. It was taken by Roberts (without giving his evidence) to be a sort of gemstone, cf. LSJ⁹, ed. of 1968, p. 848 with Supplement p. 76, adducing καβιδάριος, Latin *cabidarius*, a gem engraver. This would not be out of place, but in the Revised Supplement of 1996 (p. 162, s.v. καβίδιον) papyrological parallels were given for the more convincing meaning “small jar,” adopted here. Claire Préaux, reviewing Roberts in *Chronique d’Egypte* 55–56 (1953), suggested that the word referred to a garment like a caftan (p. 161), but this was a shot in the dark.

347 τ(ων) ὕλικ(ῶν) ἐνε[Roberts. The word ὕλικῶν refers to ὕλη, wood or woodland, more broadly any sort of stuff or matter. I have opted for this meaning without the slightest confidence.

There is a space after line **347**, before the sum of 4 tal. given in **348**, and a larger space before the sum of 1 tal. 200 dr. in **349**. It is impossible to say to what these figures refer.

(ii) P.Ryl. 639, *Pachon*

The condition of the papyrus is as described above, chapter 5, where the arguments for assigning it to the first part of Theophanes’ stay at Antioch are also set out. Roberts’s description does not mention the important fact that the first three lines, giving the date and location of the accounts and including the reference to Anti[och], are headed by a flourish in larger letters, extending over the first two columns of the text.

3 Roberts printed ἐν Ἀντι[νοειτ(ῶν) πό]λ(ει), but the letter λ, which is all that survives of

the restoration [πό]λ(ει), is not visible on the papyrus; only the letters εν αντι[are there, but they are clear. Given the arguments presented above and the heading of the accounts as just described, there seems no reason to refuse the restoration ἐν Ἀντι[οχ(εία)], with or without the abbreviation (-εία). The observations of P. J. Sijpesteijn as to the proper form of the name of Antinoopolis in the papyri (*ZPE* 27 [1967], p. 270) may be right but do not bear on the issue.

17–18 The large total of 1,200 dr. in line **18** suggests that this and the preceding line should be taken together; a similar situation occurs at **187–88**.

22 Despite the repetition from line **20**, read [καρο]ῖδια καὶ σχάδια for Roberts's [ὀψαρ]ῖδια καὶ σχάδια, as already suggested by Kalleris, p. 709 n. 2 (*BL* 5, p. 89). Compare **629.32**, **59**, **77**, etc.

23 [τῷ ἡ]πήτη υ(πὲρ) στιχαρ(ίων), cf. note on **630*.181**.

30–31 The restorations are supplied from the better-preserved text of **629**.

At the head of col. vi the Greek letter κ, for (Pachon) 20, is written in a large, conspicuous script, but no text is extant immediately below it.

108 ξύλ[ων] is not easily legible, nor the figure of (dr.) Δτ = 4,300 at **117**.

115 ὄνυχ(ων) β ἐφθ(ίων) (“two boiled trotters”), with line **178** ὄνυχ(ων) γ (“three trotters”); cf. **630*.303** and **323** below.

121–26, beginning κε for (Pachon) 25, are out of sequence and look like stray records from some other account.

121 ἔδ[[ρ]]ρα; the scribe wrote ρ twice and deleted one of them.

125–26 are notes of expenditure from Pauni (where they do not appear in the extant accounts) and have been deleted on the papyrus.

175 Nothing is visible except for the figure ω = 800.

176 Read εισσίκι[ων], sc. ἰσικίων, for εισσίκι[ιαρίων]; *BL* 11, p. 191.

177 τουρτίον/τουρτία; Du Cange, s.v., cites a first-century lexicographer's definition of the word as referring to an ash-baked loaf, or ἐγκρυφίας ἄρτος, as known in Classical Athens. Strictly speaking this can hardly be right (and the definition has been thought to be a later interpolation), since the word clearly derives from the Latin *torta* (*panis*), which is used in the Vulgate for the Septuagint ἄρτος (e.g., Exod. 29.23, I Chron. 16.3); cf. French *tourte*, Spanish *tortilla* and *torta*, German *torte*, English *tart*. Its character is well described by the recipe in a recently mailed booklet from the magazine *Bon Appétit: Best International Recipes* (2002), p. 55: “Classic Tuscan flatbread: originally cooked in the ashes of the hearth, this bread is called *schacciata*, which means, ‘squashed.’ It is usually about an inch thick. Variations of the bread are made throughout Italy,” etc. Drexhage thinks of it as a sort of cake or pastry, “Gebäck” (p. 4 n. 16; *BL* 11, pp. 190–91), but if the distinction is worth making, a type of bread, at

100 dr. per item, is a more convincing interpretation. The item recurs several times in Pauni and Epeiph.

178 ὄνυχ(ί)ων γ, cf. above, on line **115**.

187–88 See above on lines **17–18**.

190 τιμ(ῆς) εστ[. . .]. The second word is illegible.

195 Βικίν[ω ὥστε] κελλαρ(ίω) is a good reading. The sum paid for the wine suggests that the quantity was one *kabos*; chapter 7 above, with appendix 3.

210 Roberts's ἐκ Ταρίσε καὶ Οξυ.[...]σηκ has no discernible meaning. The papyrus seems to show εἰς rather than ἐκ, and there is no trace of uppercase letters. I hardly dare suggest “for pickled fish (τάριχος) and vinegar (ὄξος)” (or something else with a sharp taste), which would not fit the regular form of the accounts.

(216) The entry has been supplied from general practice elsewhere, hence the overlap with Roberts's numeration of lines.

(iii) P.Ryl. 629, Pauni

The papyrus is written in eight columns recto and seven columns verso. After col. i recto, the hand is the same throughout, with some deterioration of quality as it goes, suggesting that it was written up as a fair copy in a single session; this is borne out by the nature of the few corrections in the papyrus. The first column recto and the last column verso are heavily damaged, the latter being badly abraded, no doubt because it was on the outside of the roll as it was deposited. In col. i recto there is a big gap between lines **5** and **6**; Roberts's indication of sixteen blank lines is misleading, lines **6–8** simply being entered at the foot of the column without any concern for the number of lines that could have been written above them. The relationship between this column and the daily records for Pauni that follow is unclear.

5 “Fine flour” translates γυρί(ου), formed from the more regular γῦρις, given by LSJ⁹, p. 364, as the “finest meal,” cf. *BL* 9, p. 230, “fior di farina,” or “fine flour” (citing E. Battaglia, *Il Lessico della Panificazione nei Papyri Greci*, p. 61). Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 3.115d (ed. Gullick, vol. 2, p. 40), defines the term in a disquisition about medical sources on bread making; it may be that the present reference, together with the “sponge from the physician” at **2–3**, has a medical application; see chapter 8.

18 The first sign of abbreviation in this line, shown by Roberts as that for (δρ.), must stand for some other term of quantity than the monetary. At 1,600 dr. the item could be a *kabos* of wine (cf. lines **265**, **331**).

22 The reading is a certain restoration, from the regular form of the accounts.

29, 75, 98, 112, 224, 321 τουρτίον/τουρτία, see on **639.177** above.

45–46 The most significant textual amendment is after line **49** (Pauni 3), where Roberts's

eye skipped over five lines, inserted here as **49a–e**. Their most important contribution is the name of Eudaimon at line 49b;

49a τυρίου	(dr.) ρ
49b Εὐδαίμονι ὑ[πέρ . . .	(dr.) υ
49c ῥων	(dr.) σ
49d κεμοραφάν(ου)	(dr.) ρ
49e καροι[δίων	(dr.) ρ

The expenditure of 1 tal. 200 dr. at **50** is now correct for the day.

63 τιμ(ῆς) κολλη(μάτων) β χάρτου. κόλλημα is a sheet of papyrus glued together with others to form a roll. The sheets cost 100 dr. each, and the memoranda mention or imply rolls of two, three, four, and, on one occasion, seven sheets (cf. lines **121**, **157**, **268**; **630*93**, **209**). See Willy Clarysse, “*Tomoi Synkollesimoi*,” in Maria Brosius (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions* (2003), pp. 344–59.

92–93 The entries of **92** ξύλων εἰς τὸ (αὐτὸ) and **93** ὁψὲ οἵ[ν]ου εἰς ἔψησιν {ξύλων} have somehow become reversed (cf. **88–89** for the phrase ὁμο(ίως) εἰς τὸ (αὐτό)); perhaps they were entered onto the fair copy from a previous draft, **92** being corrected in the light of the following entry after it was made. This makes it difficult to be sure of the true prices of the respective items, but I have guessed that the cost of firewood was the same as in preceding days, at 200 dr., and that the cooking wine therefore cost 100 dr.

147 Roberts shows the letter ι for (Pauni) 10 as corrected from ια for 11, but the papyrus is not so clear. It shows only that the writer began to make a mark after ι and then crossed it out.

174 κνήθων is suggested by Roberts to be an error for κνήκων, “safflower (seeds),” but the word is written very clearly in full and occurs in another hand at **630*69**, so is unlikely to be a mistake. For the translation given here, see Kalleris, p. 701 n. 1 (*BL* 5, p. 88); *LSJ*⁹, p. 964, κνήδιον (as on a third-century papyrus), cf. κνίδη/κνίδια, “nettles.” The verb κνηθιάω means “irritate” or (in the passive) “itch.”

194–95 κολοκύνθ(ων) εἰς γάμ(ον) Πελλ(ίου) does seem to be what is on the papyrus; the word κολοκύνθ(ων) is written in rather large letters (at the top of a column), while εἰς γάμ(ον) Πελλ(ίου) is crammed in after it, the last word below the other two. 100 dr. for gourds is a pretty parsimonious contribution to a festive occasion, and I remain extremely skeptical that this is what the entry means. The reading Πελλ() is clear and provides no support for Kalleris’s otherwise attractive idea (p. 701 n. 4) that “Rellios” is the “Gellios” known from Theophanes’ family papers (**641.16**).

235 It is unclear from the marks on the papyrus whether the writer may have entered (Pauni) 10 by mistake for 11, but the latter is obviously correct. In **236** the first two letters of ἡμερ(ῶν), “days,” have been written and then crossed out, to allow the word to appear unbroken in the following line.

256 For Roberts's μορίλ(), Kalleris, pp. 704–05 n. 4 (*BL* 5, p. 88), suggests the reading μορίν(ων), but it makes no real difference to the meaning, mulberries, cf. **629.1** (μόριω[ν]). See too note on **630*.446, 487**.

292 [σ]ταφυ[λ]ῶν has been written in as a correction over the unintelligible (and unclear) letters []λαφυχ(). I interpret [σ]ταφυ[λ]ῶν (it should be σταφυλίνων) as carrots rather than (bunches of) grapes, for two reasons: grapes do not otherwise yet appear in the memoranda, and the combination of carrots and λαχάνων seems more natural. See also **630*.9**.

293, 298, 411 As Kalleris already showed (pp. 710–11 with n. 3), αλικιν is connected not with ἄλς/άλύκιον, “salt” (Roberts, p. 132 n. 293; *BL* 5, p. 88), but with ἄλιξ/ἀλίκη, the Latin *alica*, a type of coarse-ground wheat grain best described by Pliny, *NH* 18.109–16 (*BL* 11, pp. 190–91). It had a variety of uses, as the base of a type of porridge and to make sauces and stuffing (see the index to B. Flower and E. Rosenbaum, *The Roman Cookery Book*, s.v. spelt-grits; the translation is also that of E. R. Graser, *Ed. Diocl.* [see below], although strictly speaking the grain used is emmer, not spelt, cf. Andrew Dalby, *Food in the Ancient World, from A to Z* [2003], pp. 131, 309). It could also be made into a hard cake softened before eating with milk or honey-water (*NH* 18.106). The price of *alica* (*alicae mundaе/ἄλικος καθ(αροῦ)*) is given at *Ed. Diocl.* 1.25 as 200 den. per modius of 31.25 lbs, which, with allowance for inflation (see chapter 7), might have yielded about 1 lb for Theophanes' expenditure of 100 dr. In two of the three references it is linked with honey.

299 τυρίου, “cheese,” has been erased.

306 λαχάνων has, in a typically meticulous correction, been written in for the mistaken κολοκυνθί(ων) εἰς ἔψησιν. The items do sometimes occur together, see appendix 3.

309 σόλιον means neither a footstool nor (despite the context) a bathtub, but a pair of slippers (Latin *solea*); cf. LSJ⁹, pp. 1620–21, citing *P.Oxy.* 4.741.8, “eight pairs of men's slippers,” *P.Oxy.* 10.1288.16, 14.1742.6, “four pairs of women's papyrus slippers,” etc.; cf. *Ed. Diocl.* 9.17a, 24 for the Latin and Greek words. As elsewhere (**627.34, 35**), the singular stands for a pair.

330 δαμασ]κεν(ούς) is very hard to see, as is κολοκύνθ(ων) (*sic*) in **340**.

348 ὑπήτη written for ἡπήτη (so Roberts), cf. **639.23** and **630*.181**.

383 σ[οί] εἰ[ς] χεῖρ[α]. The reading is quite likely, although the initial letter of σ[οί] is not visible.

385 The total for the day of 4,700 dr., minus the other expenditures of 2,600 dr., leaves 2,100 for eight pounds of meat. It is likely that the figure for meat should be 2,400 dr., which would conform to the other meat prices recorded (see appendix 3). Both Roberts and Drexhage come to this conclusion, though, as Drexhage points out (p. 6 n. 30), the figure to be restored should be [Bu] rather than Roberts's momentarily careless [Bδ]. Neither Roberts nor Drexhage notes that the total of 4,700 dr. for the day is now incorrect. *BL* 11, p. 190 suggests rectifying

this by reading $p = 100$ for $v = 400$ at **384**, but there is no other reason to do this, and I think it preferable to leave an incorrect total.

388–92 Drexhage, p. 4 nn. 14–15 (cf. *BL* 11, pp. 190–91) proposed supplements for the missing figures in these lines, but I have only incorporated those for which positive arguments can be adduced, namely, for $\tau\omicron\upsilon\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\ \alpha$ in **392** (where 100 dr. is the regular price of this item), for foam of soda in **390** (where 100 dr. is likely if the reading $[\acute{\alpha}\phi\rho\nu\acute{\iota}\tau]\rho\omicron\nu$ is accepted). 200 dr. is a likely sum for the visit to the baths at **391**, but the quantities of fine and common bread bought at **388–89** are entirely speculative.

406 Roberts gives the daily total as $[\text{Ap}]$ for 1,100 dr., but the papyrus has a very clear ω for 800 dr. It is unlikely that the writer of the papyrus made an error in such a small daily total, and the likeliest correction is to read τ for (the uncertain) χ , sc. 300 for 600 dr. for common bread in **402**.

418 Perhaps not $[\xi\upsilon]\lambda\omega\nu$, which are already present in **413**; cf. line **394**, where the reading $\delta(\iota\acute{\alpha})\text{'}\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\upsilon$ is also doubtful. It might of course have been a second purchase of wood for the day (as apparently at **630***, **53**, **62**), hence the additional note “from Hermes.”

425 Roberts hesitantly transcribed $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$, which has no discernible meaning. Suggestions are $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\kappa\iota(\omicron)\nu$ (Kalleris, p. 711 n. 1; see line **293** above) or $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ (*BL* 5, p. 88), but the spacing of the missing letters on the papyrus ($\alpha\lambda$ - - $\kappa\iota$, with a sign of abbreviation in the space) indicates a longer restoration. The figure for 700 dr. is clear, and since this is the regular cost of ordinary olive oil (line **377** etc., with Drexhage, p. 4 n. 19 and appendix 3 below) the obvious reading is $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}(\omicron\nu)\ \kappa\iota[\beta\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$. This is fully compatible with what can be seen on the papyrus. See also **630***, **104**.

427 Roberts’s reading $\psi(\pi\grave{\epsilon}\rho)\ \epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta[\acute{\epsilon}\iota]\alpha\varsigma$, “for piety,” is barely discernible. The figure of 1 tal. is clear.

428 Roberts’s figure of 1 tal. is correct, but his (dr.) $H\omega$ is a misreading of the papyrus’s Aw for 1,800. This gives a correct total for the day.

430 The figure of 3 tal. is clear, as is the sign for (dr.), but the v for 400 is not evident.

432–35, at the end of the roll (the other side of col. i recto), are really too badly abraded to read at all. The only reasonably clear word is that for month ($\mu\eta\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$) in **434**. Roberts’s $\mu\alpha$ for 41 (tal.) in **435** is hardly legible.

(iv) P.Ryl. 630*, *Epeiph-Mesore*

The text published as *P.Ryl.* 630* is reconstructed from a number of fair and draft versions. The papyri are numbered separately as **630–38**, of which **630–34** were described by Roberts as fair copies, **635–38** as drafts. **638** can be set aside, since it is a draft version (Roberts called it a sketch) of the homeward itinerary, written on the back of one for the outward journey

(628). The reconstruction of the text entails setting the fair copies in order and having the draft versions supplement them when they are not complete. For the records of expenditure for the opening section (Epeiph 9–30), we are dependent upon 630 followed by 631, with a possible contribution from 634 and support from the draft versions in 635–36. The first two days of Mesore are preserved in 632 with the last columns of the draft version 636. The remainder of Mesore, from 3rd to the end of the journey on 23rd, is preserved in 633, written neatly in six columns on only one side of the papyrus, with occasional contributions from the draft version 637 (itself written on the back of an old tax list, 616). At least three hands can be seen. 632 appears to be in the same hand as 634 (Roberts thought these two and 631 were perhaps from the same roll) but different from 630, and both are different from the hand that appears in the itineraries.

(a) P.Ryl. 630^{*.1–310}: *Epeiph 9–30*

1–14, based on the first column of 630, are very damaged but because of the content of the following lines can be seen to reach Epeiph 10 at line 12. After several more missing lines covering this day, the situation improves from Epeiph 11. From this point, with the help of the draft of 635 and the fair version of 631, the records are for a time in much better shape.

1 Roberts's suggested restoration (p. 147) [τ(ῶ) π(αρά)χ]ύτη, “to the water-carrier” (see note on lines 277ff. below), goes far beyond the three letters that can be seen. We would expect a date, which would be (Epeiph) 9, at this point, but it is hard to accommodate it.

9 Read as [στ]αφ(υλινῶν), “carrots,” rather than [στ]αφ(υλίων), “(bunches of) grapes,” which do not appear until later in the month. See also 629.292.

13–14 The entries for fine and common bread show this to be the start of a new day, which must be Epeiph 10, since Epeiph 11 begins for certain (after ten lost lines), at 15.

48 τῶ [Ο] ξ[υ]ρυγχιτή. The appearance of this “man from Oxyrhynchus” is unexplained, and unfortunately the sum of money paid to him is not extant on the papyrus.

53 The first three letters of ξύλων, “wood” are unclear, and the word also occurs at line 62. There are other occasions when firewood may have been bought twice on the same day, cf. 629.413, 418.

68 For κορόσπερμον (for κοριόσπερμον, “coriander seed”), see Kalleris, p. 703 n. 1 (*BL* 5, p. 88); *LSJ*⁹ Suppl., p. 183.

69 For κνήθων as “nettles,” see note on 629.174 above.

(73) Roberts notes three missing lines here, but two (the date and an entry for fine loaves) can be supplied from regular practice in the memoranda; hence the overlap with Roberts's numeration of lines.

79 The word ἀρμενιάκά/-ῶν, “apricots,” seems peculiarly vulnerable in the papyri; it is doubtful here, as at lines 206 and 342.

95 The one letter visible in this line shows its subject to have been a plural.

100–05 Roberts here miscounted, with the result that from **105** his line numbers are one less than they should be.

104 Roberts reads ρ[ῖνου κ]ιβαρ(ίου) ξ(έστου) α, but only the first letter of ρ[ῖνου] shows at all on the papyrus, and even that is unclear. In chapter 7, cf. appendix 3, I give reasons for thinking that the line refers not to wine but to olive oil. See also note on **629.425**.

157 The figure of 200 dr. is supplied from the standard price of fine loaves.

172 κεμ[ίων], usually priced (often with other items) at 100 dr., but 50 dr. at lines **123**, **184**; see appendix 3.

174 The unusual total for the day is explained by the 50 dr. for κέμια at **172**, cf. **184**. By the same token, the daily total at **185** is likely to have ended with “50” rather than a round hundred.

181 ἡ[πῆτη] Roberts, cf. **629.348**, with **639.23** (also with the figure of 600 dr.).

184 Read κ[έμια]; cf. line **123** (Epeiph 19) for κέμια at 50 dr., the lowest individual price in the entire memoranda.

197 The figure for 200 (σ) is not certain.

206 Again, the word for apricots is not clear, and it may be a little late in the season for them. See also lines **79**, **342**.

220 The papyrus reads only ψωμίων, but the papyrus allows space for further description and perhaps a number before the phrase “for the journey,” in which case fine loaves seem to be in question.

222 ?Read ἄλλ(ων) στ[αφυλί(ων)], cf. the earlier purchase of grapes at line **206**. This and the comments on **233** and **234** below concern the first stages of Theophanes’ journey from Antioch.

225 The keeper of the record has mistakenly written, but not deleted, the number 10 before 21 (the day of the month).

233 ἄλλ(ων) επ[. . .]; again, more of some article or other, but no antecedent can be found.

234 ἄλλ(ων) δ ισ[], “four more is[].” One possibility might seem to be ισ(σ)ικαρ(ίων) (better, ισικίων), but the memoranda, and Theophanes’ private papers, uniformly spell this word εισ- (**639.176**, **211**, cf. **640.10**; **641.30**).

244 The reading ἐν τῷ Σκ[. . .] presents two problems: no place-name beginning with the letters Sk[can be found between Kata Hydata and Laodicea, and it is not usual for the memoranda to use the definite article with place-names. The phrase may refer to a location at which lunch was taken, but not the name of a place.

257 The translation is conjectural and involves reading Roberts’s transcription [. . .]ρνια, of which it is hard to make sense, as [του]ρτία.

258 Roberts prints [κολοκυνθ](ίων), “gourds,” but the word is so patently uncertain that I omit it.

259 τῷ ἀδε[λφῷ] is an obvious supplement for the papyrus’s τῷ ἀδε[. . . , but it is not satisfactory, for we know nothing of any “brother” connected with Theophanes’ party. It does not seem sufficient that Hermodorus could be the same as the brother-in-law of the name mentioned in chapter 2. My translation carefully preserves the uncertainty.

277ff. After the daily total for Epeiph 29 at (**276**), Roberts marks a missing line followed by about nineteen others. In his notes at p. 147 he refers to **631(a)**, a fragment containing sixteen incomplete lines which may be part of column vii of **631** and if so would fit in this place. The interest in the fragment would be that it includes an entry, ὀρνι[θίων], “birds,” which we might expect to find from time to time but in fact occurs nowhere else in the memoranda, and another [τ]ῷ παρ[αχύτῃ], “to the water-carrier(?)” that otherwise occurs only in Egypt (**627.150**; as mentioned above, the restoration of this phrase at **630*.1** goes far beyond what can be seen). I translate what can be seen of lines **277–82** (supplying the missing date for Epeiph 29, which was in the lacuna after **276**). **282** is a daily total, which has to be that of Epeiph 29. A figure for talents must be assumed, since the figure A for 1,000 dr. is already exceeded in the extant totals for the day.

283 This line, of which the only extant letters are [. . .]ενφ[, must have indicated Epeiph 30 and perhaps also have included a place-name. There is, however, no reason why the month should have been named. It is usually named only at the beginning of the month (an exception is **630*.15**, but that is the beginning of a new papyrus roll), and in any case the extant letters stand too far from the left margin to be part of it. A place-name might be rescued from these letters as ἐν Φ[. . . I cannot find a suitable candidate in this part of the itinerary (north of Theouprosopon, cf. **312**), but that does not mean there was not one.

293 ταβέρνιον, a lodging (or *mansio*), also at lines **375**, **396**; see on **627.293**.

297 The entry shows the letter ε for five, but neither object nor price is extant.

303 [...]οτ[.]χίων β, Roberts, cf. line **323** κ .. τεφίων ὄνυχ[ίων] (though the initial κ is not now visible). Compare **639.115**, ὄνυχίων β ἐφθίων (“two boiled trotters”) and **178**, ὄνυχίων γ (“three trotters”).

304ff. The draft accounts of **636** include at this point a unique seven-day total (Epeiph 24–30 inclusive), but since the total of 2 tal. 900 dr. is less than the *five*-day total at the equivalent point in the consolidated account (**631**), it is obviously incomplete. It does show, however, that the final versions were put together from partial separate accounts.

P.Ryl. 630*.311–47: *Mesore 1–2*

323 κ .. τεφίων ὄνυχ[ίων, see above, line **303**.

325 All that can be seen are the characters εἰς . ο [, after about five missing letters at the be-

ginning of the line. It is possible that they comprise the word εἰς, “for,” and are so translated, but this is the purest speculation.

327 κεμ[ίων], at 100 (or 50) dr., see on **172**.

333 απ. [.] τῇ γ ἔμβασιν πρε()[. Only ἔμβασιν can be clearly seen. The entry does not occur at all in the draft version in **636**.

342 ἀρμ[ενιακὰ] is possible but very doubtful, cf. lines **79**, **206**.

P.Ryl. 630*^{348–558}: *Mesore* 3–23

360 Although Roberts gave no indication of them, traces of more letters are visible after σοί[; hence the translation “to you, [for...(?)”

365 The date for Mesore 4 was in the lacuna immediately following the previous day’s total at line **364**.

366 [.] τούρω is all that can be seen on the papyrus. This line and **367** should be taken together, which will account for the at first sight very large sum of 1,000 dr. for *exatilia*. Conversely, if more of line **366** could be read, we might have better information than is available to us on the identity of *exatilia*.

374 [.] λανίου is what can be seen. Roberts suggested [τιμ(ῆς) με] λανίου, “price of ink,” but given the purpose of the journey such a purchase seems a bit belated.

385 [έν Ἀλλ]αγῇ. Roberts’s use of the capital letter in his restoration is misleading, for ἀλλαγή is not here a place-name but the equivalent of the Latin *mutatio*; see also line **399** έν τῇ ἀλ[λ]αγ[ῇ] Βητάρου, with the discussion in chapter 8.

387 βατέλλ(ης), for *patella*, another Latinism.

406 φαβᾶτον τοῖς παιδίοις. Roberts translates as “lentil flour or cakes,” but that is misleading (LSJ⁹, Suppl., p. 305 modifies to “bean flour or cakes”). φαβᾶτον is a Latinism from the word for beans (*faba*, *fabatus*), and the most common Latin usage refers to a pulse (gruel or thick soup) made from them.

411 κρέως προβατικο(ῦ) ὑικ(οῦ), “pork.” The last word is barely legible (according to Roberts, p. 148, it is not present at all in the draft version of **637**). The word πρόβατον, generally referring to four-legged herded creatures, is more usually applied to cattle or sheep, sometimes goats, which is perhaps why the additional definition is offered here.

421 The letters η . . σπουμι . [] are not intelligible (for π read τ).

425–26 δωράκια ἄλλα, after an earlier purchase on the same day (line **419**). Roberts’s [κ]ατὰ [αῖ]ρεσιν is the likeliest reading of the following phrase. It might mean either that someone had chosen to buy more peaches or that this second purchase was of choice items (though the price is in each case the same). My translation retains the ambiguity.

435 The true addition gives a total of 5,200 dr., not (as Roberts) 6,400 dr.

446 and **487** σκάμῳν is connected by Roberts with σκαμ(μ)ωνία, “scammony,” but Kalleris, pp. 704–05 n. 4 (*BL* 5, p. 88) adduces the modern Greek σκάμνια/σκάμνα and similar forms to refer it to a mulberry, the fruit of the σκαμίνοϋς tree (mentioned at Luke 17.6). Even so, the situation is far from straightforward (cf. LSJ⁹, p. 1670). The tree known as the συκομορέα (or -αία, as at Luke 19.4) is the sycamore fig (*ficus Sycaminus*), but the two words σκαμίνοϋς and συκομορέα are sometimes used one for the other, and Strabo (17.2.4) describes (as an Egyptian peculiarity) the σκαμίνοϋς tree that produced the edible fruit called σκκόμορον, inferior to but resembling the fig (συκή; *Ficus Carica*); cf. (speaking of Alexandria) Galen, *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* 2.35 (trans. Grant, p. 135; Powell, p. 96). Both fig and mulberry (*Morus nigra*) belong to the genus Moraceae, cf. J. G. Vaughan and C. A. Geissler, *The New Oxford Book of Food Plants* (1997), pp. 100–101. I have supposed that at **629.1** and **256** (see note) Theophanes was buying mulberries and in the present passages sycamore figs, but see no way of being sure.

447 and **485** I interpret χρυσοφνδρ(), which occurs only in these two passages, as a variation of χρύσοφρυς, the fish identified as the gilt-head, otherwise known as the sea bream (*Sparus aurata*); see, for example, Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 598a, and Columella 8.16.2, 8. It is described in *Webster's Dictionary* (ed. of 1940) as “a valuable food fish common in the Mediterranean”; cf. André, *L'Alimentation et la Cuisine à Rome*, p. 98 (‘la daurade’), and Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 328b–c. The consonantal shift from χρύσοφρ- to χρυσοφνδρ- is partly paralleled in the memoranda in the shift from the regular θρίδαξ to θύδραξ (“lettuce”).

475 As mentioned above (chapter 6 n. 20), Roberts saw in this line a possible allusion to the Sabbath (p. 148, “the item may represent some payment to local Jewish funds”), on the basis of which the reference was included, with others, in V. A. Tcherikova, A. Fuks, and M. Stern, *Corpus Papyrorum Iudaicarum* III (1964), no. 457c. See, however, J. Rea, *Classical Review* 16 (1966), p. 41 (*BL* 5, p. 88), and in *P.Oxy.* 34.2728, 2729 (both fourth century) with p. 133 (*BL* 5, p. 88; 6, p. 124). At *P.Oxy.* 2728 line 33 the phrase σάμβαθ(ον) βωριδίων means “a jar of pickled mullet,” and at 2729 line 9 the vessel is used to contain base coin in the quantity of “2,000 myriads” of drachmas, while a “double knidion” contained “4,000 myriads” of drachmas (lines 10–11); this is at a time when (line 37) the *solidus* was rated at 730 myriads of drachmas. For a possible double knidion, see on line **536**.

485 and **487**, see above, on **446** and **447**.

500 τῷ μ[α]γιστηρίῳ is a safe reading, but we do not know to what office or magistracy it refers.

505 Roberts notes on this line that the draft accounts of **637** add [τοῖς] παιδίοις, “for the boys”—if valid, an interesting sidelight on the diet of slaves.

510 Note the reappearance of the word ὠπαρίδια, used throughout **627**, **639**, and **629**, but only on this occasion in the later memoranda, for fresh fish; see note on **627.153**.

515 χορτοῦ τῶν κτηνῶν, “fodder for the pack animals,” is clearly visible. For the itinerary at this point, see chapter 8.

531 and **536** Roberts printed εἰς τὸ π[λε]γ() in **531** and εἰς τὸ πλεγ() in **536**, with the warning (p. 148) that εἰς τὸ πλεῖν, “for the voyage,” could *not* be read but no suggestion what the phrase might mean. His instinct was right, however. There is no doubt about the initial letters πλ- in **536**. It then appears that Roberts misread an open omikron, such as does occur nearby in this hand, as ε, and mistook an ι with a mark of abbreviation (ι), for γ (Γ). The correct reading is thus εἰς τὸ πλοῖ(ον), “for the boat,” *sc.* for the river journey from Babylon to Hermopolis. The phrase ἐπὶ τοῦ πλοίου is written out in full at **627.250** and abbreviated as ἐπ[ι τ]οῦ πλ(οίου) at **627.100** (the beginning of the journey).

536 τιμ(ῆς) οἶνων β, literally “cost of two wines,” with no indication of the measure of quantity. Given the price, a possibility might be two double knidia; see above on line **475** for the measure, and the cost of 1,700 and 1,500 dr. per (single) knidion in lines **533** and **535**.

557 The total at the end of the papyrus is written in large letters. Roberts, p. 147, notes the appearance on the back of **632** (a fair copy covering Mesore 1–3, possibly part of the same roll as **631**) of a figure for the total expenditure in Mesore of 11 tal. 500 dr. This is very close to the total for the month in the memoranda as translated from **633**, but it is not possible to say how they are connected—nor, given the gaps in the papyri, which is the more accurate addition.

Appendix 3 Costs and Prices in the Memoranda

THE APPENDIX collects and classifies the evidence for food and other costs contained in the memoranda of Theophanes' journey. It is set out in the order, first of the "Mediterranean triad" of bread, olive oil, and wine in its various forms; then meat and fish and their products; vegetables and fruits; other foodstuffs and condiments; items other than food; and personal expenditures and services. I note those entries in which the quantity as well as the price of commodities is given, and I also mark the occasions where the papyrus mentions any particular circumstance connected with a purchase (as, for example, "lunch with Antoninus").

Readers are cautioned that the memoranda are complete (within the usual limitations of papyrological evidence) only for the months of Pauni, the later part of Epeiph, and Mesore 1–23, when the journey comes to an end. The records for the outward journey are incomplete as they were made (chapter 3 above), and those for Pachon are fragmentary as they are preserved (chapter 5). The first eight days of Epeiph and most of the tenth are missing altogether, and there are many lacunae in the following period. It will be obvious that some of the missing figures can be filled in by analogy, but this is left to the reader's judgment and is not done in what follows. Lacunae are shown in the usual way by square brackets []; where these occur, they mean that something specific (place-name, commodity, or numerical figure) once stood on the papyrus, but that it cannot now be determined what it was. In those cases in which more than one commodity appears in a single entry for a single monetary sum, I have indicated what the other items are and included the entry under each of them; so, for example, Pauni 25 "cucumbers and lettuces and artichokes" appears under all these items. I have added the Greek words used in the memoranda, noting that they tend to vary in spelling and form, and

in the case, usually but not always the genitive, which is used in the entries. I reduce them to the nominative, as they appear in Roberts's indexes (with which all the entries have been cross-checked). I omit those entries from *PRyl.* 627 that I believe do not refer to the journey but to Theophanes' business in the period before it began, adding a warning note to a handful of entries whose relevance to the journey remains uncertain. Commentary in appendix 2 may be found via the dates given below and the line numbers in the translated texts.

1. Bread

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
Fine bread (καθαρός)	Little Balaneion	Pachon 5	200 dr. "to you for loaves"
	Laodicea	Pachon 5	[[500 dr.]] (or oil?) (figure deleted)
	Antioch	Pachon 15	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 18	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 21	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 22	400 dr. for lunch for the <i>officials</i> and the Panopolitai
	Antioch	Pauni 1	800 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	800 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 3	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 4	600 dr., 6 loaves
	Antioch	Pauni 5	700 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 6	500 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 7	300 dr., 3 loaves
	Antioch	Pauni 8	400 dr., 4 loaves
	Antioch	Pauni 9	500 dr., 5 loaves
	Antioch	Pauni 10	400 dr., 4 loaves
	Antioch	Pauni 11	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 12	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 13	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 14	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 15	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 16	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 17	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 18	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 19	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 20	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 21	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 22	600 dr., 6 loaves for lunch with Antoninus
	Antioch	Pauni 23	300 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 24	300 dr., 3 loaves for lunch with Antoninus
	Antioch	Pauni 25	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 26	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 27	[]
	Antioch	Pauni 28	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 29	200 dr.

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
	Antioch	Pauni 30	200 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 9	[], 2 loaves
	Antioch	Epeiph 10	200 dr., 2 loaves
	Antioch	Epeiph 11	300 dr., 3 loaves
	Antioch	Epeiph 12	700 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 13	300 dr., 3 loaves
	Antioch	Epeiph 14	300 dr., 3 loaves
	Antioch	Epeiph 15	600 dr. (no plain bread on this day; see note)
	Antioch	Epeiph 16	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 17	200 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 18	200 dr., 2 loaves
	"	"	100 dr. for dinner
	Antioch	Epeiph 19	200 dr., 2 loaves
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	200 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 21	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 22	[], 2 loaves
	Antioch	Epeiph 23	200 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 24	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 25	[]
	"	"	[] [for the] journey
	Laodicea	Epeiph 27	[]
	Balanea?	Epeiph 28	200 dr. for dinner
	"	"	100 dr. for dinner
	[entry missing for Epeiph 29]		
	Tripolis?	Epeiph 30	400 dr.
	"	"	[], 2 loaves for dinner with Theon & Hermodorus
	Biblos	Mesore 1	[], 3 loaves
	Berytus?	Mesore 2	[], 3 loaves
	Betaros	Mesore 7	300 dr. for lunch with party of Hermodorus
	Antipatris	"	300 dr., 3 loaves for dinner
	Abella	Mesore 8	200 dr. for us, for lunch
	Ascalon	"	300 dr., for dinner
	Raphia	Mesore 9	300 dr.
	Rhinocolura	Mesore 10	400 dr., 4 loaves
	Pelusium	Mesore 13	400 dr., 4 loaves for the journey
	Pelusium	Mesore 17	1,000 dr. for the boat
"Soft bread" (ψωμίων ἀπαλῶν)	Pelusium	Mesore 20	200 dr.
	Pelusium	Mesore 21	300 dr., through Piox
"Flatbread" (τούρτιον)	Antioch	Pachon 24	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	600 dr. for lunch
	Antioch	Pauni 5	200 dr., 2 loaves for dinner
	Antioch	Pauni 6	100 dr., 1 loaf
	Antioch	Pauni 7	100 dr., 1 loaf

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
	Antioch	Pauni 15	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 22	400 dr., 4 loaves
	Antioch	Pauni 27	[100 dr.], 1 loaf
	Antioch	Epeiph 21	[]
Common bread (κιβάριος)	Babylon	Phamenoth 27	200 dr. "for the boys"
	Antioch	Pachon 15	1,000 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 18	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 21	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 22	1,200 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 24?	400 dr. for the boys of Apollon
	"	"	600 dr. for the young men of the <i>officialis</i>
	Antioch	Pachon 25?	400 dr. for the boys(?) of the <i>officialis</i>
	Antioch	Pachon 28/9	[]
	Antioch	Pauni 1	1,200 dr. for the boys
	Antioch	Pauni 2	1,200 dr. "
	Antioch	Pauni 3	1,200 dr. "
	Antioch	Pauni 4	900 dr. (etc.)
	Antioch	Pauni 5	900 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 6	900 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 7	900 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 8	900 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 9	800 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 10	800 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 11	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 12	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 13	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 14	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 15	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 16	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 17	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 18	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 19	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 20	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 21	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 22	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 23	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 24	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 25	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 26	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 27	[]
	Antioch	Pauni 28	600 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 29	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 30	400 dr.
	- -	- -	- -
	Antioch	Epeiph 9	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 10	600 dr.

PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
Antioch	Epeiph 11	400 dr.
Antioch	Epeiph 12	400 dr.
Antioch	Epeiph 13	400 dr.
Antioch	Epeiph 14	400 dr.
Antioch	Epeiph 15	none (see note)
Antioch	Epeiph 16	[]
Antioch	Epeiph 17	600 dr.
Antioch	Epeiph 18	400 dr.
Antioch	Epeiph 19	600 dr.
Antioch	Epeiph 20	600 dr.
Antioch	Epeiph 21	[]
Antioch	Epeiph 22	[]
Antioch	Epeiph 23	400 dr.
Antioch	Epeiph 24	[]
Antioch	Epeiph 25	[]
[]	Epeiph 30	[]
Biblos	Mesore 1	500 dr.
Berytus?	Mesore 2	[]
Sidon	Mesore 3	600 dr.
Betaros	Mesore 7	800 dr.
Abella	Mesore 8	800 dr.
Raphia	Mesore 9	800 dr.
Rhinocolura	Mesore 10	400 dr.
Pelusium	Mesore 12	500 dr.
Pelusium	Mesore 13	1200 dr.
Babylon	Mesore 17	400 dr.
Babylon	Mesore 18	600 dr.
Babylon	Mesore 19	200 dr.
Ampelon	Mesore 22	400 dr.
Ampelon/ Hermopolis	Mesore 23	200 dr.

Note: The phrase “for the boys” (τοῖς παιδίοις) is almost invariably attached to entries for common bread, and the phrase may be used to determine the quality of bread at issue in a few cases where this is not stated. In the accounts the word κιβάρων usually stands by itself in the plural, understanding ψωμίων; the use from time to time of the singular κιβάριον simply reflects a preference of the keeper of the accounts. The absence of common bread on Epeiph 15 is compensated by the large amount of fine bread (600 dr.) bought on that day.

Loaves or rolls (ψώμια)	Ascalon	Pharmouthi 24	800 dr
	Ascalon	Pharmouthi 25	800 dr
	Caesarea	Pharmouthi 26	800 dr
	[Ptolemais?]	Pharmouthi 27	800 dr
	Tyre?	Pharmouthi 28	800 dr
	Sidon?	Pharmouthi 29	800 dr
	Berytus	Pharmouthi 30	800 dr

PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
Rhinocolura	Mesore 10	1,200 dr. "for more loaves for the journey to the second staging-post"
(S)kenai	Mesore 15	100 dr.
<i>Note:</i> These entries, for ψώμια alone, do not specify the quality of bread purchased. That for Mesore 15 would be the lowest sum paid for any quantity of either sort of bread, and it seems impossible from this or from the context to determine which is in question.		

2. Olive Oil

Fine (ἐλαιον χρηστόν)	Antioch	Pachon 21	[] for 1 xestes
	Antioch	Pachon 27/8	1,200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 7	1,200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 24	1,000 dr. for 1 xestes
	Antioch	Pauni 26?	400 dr. (see note)
	Antioch	Epeiph 21	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 25	400 dr.
	Laodicea	Epeiph 27	[] for [] xestes/-ai
<i>See also below, fine oil for the baths.</i>			
Ordinary (ἐλ. κιβάριον)	Hermopolis?	Phamenoth 23	5 vessels (not connected with journey?)
	Antioch	Pachon 19	700 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 24	700 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 27/8	700 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 30	700 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	700 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 4	700 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 6	700 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 8	900 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 11	700 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 15	700 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 19	700 dr.
	"	"	100 dr., supplied to Silvanus
	Antioch	Pauni 22	700 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 26	700 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 30	700 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 11	[] (or olives?)
	Antioch	Epeiph 13	700 dr.
	"	"	100 dr. (& gourds)
	Antioch	Epeiph 18	700 dr. for 1 xestes
	Antioch	Epeiph 21	[] ([] and oil)
	Antioch	Epeiph 22	[]
	Laodicea	Epeiph 27	[]
	Biblos	Mesore 1	[]
	Sidon	Mesore 3	400 dr.
	Caesarea	Mesore 6	400 dr.
	Rhinocolura	Mesore 10	400 dr.

PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
Kasion	Mesore 11	500 dr.
Pelusium	Mesore 13	500 dr.
<i>Note:</i> The two entries on Pauni 26 may suggest that one of them (presumably the second) is for fine oil. For Epeiph 18, see chapter 7 above.		

Raphanos oil	Athribis	Pharmouthi 12	500 dr.
(ἔλ. ραφάνινον)	"	"	500 dr.
	Babylon	Mesore 16	100 dr. for 5 xestai

3. Wine

Hermopolis?	Phamenoth 18	for lunch for the <i>officiales</i> , 1 knidion
boat on Nile	Phamenoth 21	for lunch, 1 knidion
?	Phamenoth 24	50 knidia (not connected with journey?)
boat to Babylon	Phamenoth 27	for lunch on the boat, 1 knidion
Babylon	Phamenoth 27	for dinner with the boys, 4 knidia
Babylon	"	to those with Eudaimon and [] and Hatres and to the others, [] knidia
Babylon	Phamenoth 28	for lunch, 1 knidion
Babylon	Phamenoth 29	1 spathion
Babylon	Phamenoth 30	for dinner, 1 knidion
Babylon	Pharmouthi 1	1 knidion for dinner
Babylon	Pharmouthi 2	to Eudaimon for the soldier Pannonios, 2 knidia
"	"	for dinner, 1 knidion
"	"	for lunch, 1 knidion
"	"	for the presence of the <i>officiales</i> of the governor, 1 knidion
"	"	for the soldier Pannonios, 1 knidion
"	"	for ourselves, 1 knidion
"	"	for the boatmen departing for Hermopolis with Achilles, 1 knidion
"	"	evening for dinner, 1 knidion
(No prices are given for any of the above entries)		
Antioch	Pachon 13	900 dr. (the entry is given twice by mistake)
Antioch	Pachon 17	900 dr.
Antioch	Pachon 19	900 dr.
Antioch	Pachon 21	[]
Antioch	Pachon 23	900 dr.
Antioch	Pachon 25	1,800 dr. for the κελλάριος (1 kabos?)
Antioch	Pauni 2	2,800 dr. for 1 spathion
Antioch	Pauni 5	2,900 dr. for 1 spathion
Antioch	Pauni 9	1,100 dr.
Antioch	Pauni 12	700 dr. for ½ kabos
Antioch	Pauni 16	900 dr. for ½ kabos
Antioch	Pauni 18	1,500 dr. for 1 kabos

PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
Antioch	Pauni 22	1,700 dr. for 1 kabos
Antioch	Pauni 26	200 dr. for lunch, 1 xestes
Antioch	Pauni 27	[] 2 xestai for lunch with Antoninus
Antioch	Epeiph 9	[], ½ kabos for lunch with []
Antioch	Epeiph 13	1,700 dr. for 1 kabos
Antioch	Epeiph 17	1,800 dr. for 1 kabos
Antioch	Epeiph 20	900 dr. (and nuts) (800 + 100?)
Antioch	Epeiph 22	[]
Antioch	Epeiph 25	600 dr., [] vessels for the journey
Antioch	Epeiph 26	[], for []
Laodicea	Epeiph 27	200 dr. to you (pl.) for dinner
Balanea?	Epeiph 28	600 dr. ordinary wine (κιβάριος) for the boys
"	"	400 dr. for lunch, 1 xestes
"	"	200 dr., for dinner with Theon and the party of Hermodorus
Tripolis?	Epeiph 30	200 dr. for you for lunch
"	"	[], 1 xestes
Biblos	Mesore 1	[] to you (<i>sing.</i>), for lunch
"	"	700 dr., for dinner
Allage	Mesore 6	300 dr., for lunch
Abella	Mesore 8	200 dr., for lunch
"	"	200 dr., for the boys for wine and some meat
Ascalon	"	500 dr. ordinary wine
Raphia	Mesore 9	600 dr., for those at lunch with the party of Hermodorus
"	"	300 dr. to you (<i>sing.</i>) for dinner
Rhinocolura	Mesore 10	1,400 dr., to you (<i>pl.</i>) for lunch
"	"	1,800 dr., 4 metretai for the journey
?(S)kenai	Mesore 15	300 dr. for 1 xestes
Babylon	Mesore 17	1,700 dr., 1 knidion through Aoros
"	"	1,600 dr., 1 knidion through Hermes
"	"	1 tal., for 2 [] for the boat

Note: The memoranda twice (Epeiph 28 and Mesore 8) define the wine purchased as of ordinary quality (κιβάριος), and this was no doubt always so with wine bought for the slaves in the party, but the distinction is not drawn consistently enough to make it worthwhile to list them separately. I list separately the occasions when sums of money are allowed "for drinking" without explicit mention of wine, suspecting that on at least some of these occasions Theophanes and his party went out to bars and taverns for his drinks. All the occasions relate to moments on the outward or return journey, when the party was staying at overnight accommodation;

Balanea	Pachon 5	100 dr. for drinking
Kata Hydata	Epeiph 26	[] for drinks with the party of Eulogios
Laodicea	Epeiph 27	300 dr. for the boys to drink
[Antarados?]	Epeiph 29	400 dr. for drinking
[Tripolis?]	Epeiph 30	[], for drinks with the party of ?Hermodorus (cf. Epeiph 28 above)
Theoupropon	Mesore 1	[] for us, to drink

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
	Raphia	Mesore 9	500 dr. to ourselves for drinks for the boys and for Dion and Alexandros
	Kabaseitos (Tacasarta?)	Mesore 14	400 dr. to you (sing.) for drinks with Hermodorus
Wine vinegar (ὄξος)	Antioch	Pachon 21	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 24	300 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 30	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 13	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 19	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 24	200 dr. for 2 xestai
	Antioch	Epeiph 17	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	100 dr.
	Sidon	Mesore 3	200 dr.
	Ascalon	Mesore 8	200 dr.
	Pelusium	Mesore 13	200 dr.
Vermouth (ἀψίνθιον, ἀψινθᾶτον)	Antioch	Pachon 9	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 19	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 24	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 4	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 7	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 11	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 17	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 18	200 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 14	200 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 16	200 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	200 dr.
	Abella	Mesore 8	200 dr.
	Raphia	Mesore 9	200 dr.
	Babylon	Mesore 17	400 dr. through Aoros
<i>Note:</i> For ἀψίνθιον, wormwood, as an herb-flavored wine or vermouth, see above, chapter 4. The memoranda only once (Pachon 19) use the form ἀψινθᾶτον as it appears in Diocletian's Prices Edict (2.18), but it seems obvious that Theophanes was buying the wine itself rather than its herbal ingredients.			
Wine for cooking	Antioch	Pauni 6	100 dr.
Sweet wine (γλύκιος)	Antioch	Pauni 6	600 dr. for ½ kabos
Reduced wine (σίραιος)	Ascalon	Mesore 8	400 dr.
	For ?spiced wine, see below, §6.		

4. Meat and Fish

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
Meat (κρέας)	Hermopolis?	Phamenoth 23	1 tub (βάδιον) (not connected with journey?)
	Babylon	Pharmouthi 6	600 dr. for 4 lbs.
	Athribis	Pharmouthi 11	600 dr. for 4 lbs.
	Antioch	Pachon 18	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 23	300 dr. for 2 boiled trotters
	Antioch	Pachon 24	300 dr. for 3 trotters
	Antioch	Pachon 26	1, [. . .] dr. for 2 lbs.
	Antioch	Pachon 28/9	600 dr. for 2 lbs.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	1,200 dr. for 4 lbs.
	Antioch	Pauni 3	2,800 dr. for 9 lbs., for salting
	Antioch	Pauni 12	1,200 dr. for 4 lbs., for salting
	Antioch	Pauni 19	1,800 dr. for 6 lbs.
	Antioch	Pauni 23	900 dr. for 3 lbs.
	Antioch	Pauni 26	2,400(?) dr. for 8 lbs.
	Antioch	Epeiph 12	2,000 dr. for 5 lbs., for salting
	Antioch	Epeiph 17	2,800 dr. for 7 lbs., for salting
	Antioch	Epeiph 25	1,200 dr. for 3 lbs. meat of []
	Laodicea	Epeiph 28	800 dr. 2 lbs.
	Tripolis?	Epeiph 30	[] for 2 trotters
	Theouprosopon	Mesore 1	[] for 4 pieces
	Biblos	"	[] for boiled trotters & head
	Betaros	Mesore 7	1,200 dr. for 6 lbs.
	Abella	Mesore 8	100 dr. for ?pork
	Abella	Mesore 8	200 dr. for the boys (& wine), 1 cut
	Raphia	Mesore 9	300 dr. for goat meat
Sausages (λουκάνικα)	Athribis	Pharmouthi 12	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 8	200 dr. for lunch with Eulogius
	Antioch	Pauni 15	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 22	200 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 26	[]
Isicia (ισικιάρια)	Antioch	Pachon 24	800 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 27/8	400 dr.
Fish (ὀψαρίδια)	Babylon	Pharmouthi 5	200 dr.
	Babylon	Pharmouthi 9	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 10	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 13	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 15	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 28/9	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	300 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 18	300 dr. for 1 lb
	Pelusium	Mesore 14	200 dr.

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
“ <i>Exatilia</i> ”	Biblos	Mesore 1	400 dr.
	Biblos	Mesore 2	[]
	Sidon	Mesore 3	400 dr.
	Tyre?	Mesore 4	1000 dr. (& [])
	Ptolemais?	Mesore 5	400 dr.
	Ascalon	Mesore 8	400 dr.
	Raphia	Mesore 9	200 dr.
	Ostrakine	Mesore 11	100 dr.
	Kasion	"	200 dr.
Gilt-heads (χρυσοφνδρ())	Raphia	Mesore 9	300 dr. for two
	Pentaschoinos	Mesore 12	100 dr
<i>Note:</i> for ὀψαρίδια, ἐξατίλια, and χρυσοφνδρ(), see chapter 7			
Anchovies (βορίδια)	Antioch	Pauni 6	700 dr. for garum
Pickled fish (τάριχος)	Antioch	Pachon 15	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 18	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 19	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 21	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 23	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 28/9	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 1	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 3	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 5	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 6	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 7	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 8	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 10	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 11	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 13	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 16	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 17	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 20	100 dr. for lunch with Antoninus
	Antioch	Pauni 21	400 dr. for one (kabos ??)
	Antioch	Epeiph 14	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 18	100 dr. (& kemia)
	Antioch	Epeiph 21	[]
	Pelusium	Mesore 13	200 dr.
?Birds (ὀρνίθια)	Antarados?	Epeiph 29	[]
<i>Note:</i> On this item see appendix 3, on 630*.277ff.			

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
Snails (κοχλία)	Pelusium	Mesore 13	100 dr. for lunch (for the boys?)

5. Vegetables and Fruit

Green vegetables/ pot-herbs (λάχανα)	Babylon	Pharmouthi 2	100 dr.
	Babylon	Pharmouthi 5	100 dr.
	Babylon	Pharmouthi 8	[]
	Athribis	Pharmouthi 11	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 15	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 17	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 18	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 21	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 27/8	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 28/9	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 3	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 4	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 5	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 6	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 7	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 8	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 9	100 dr. (& gourds)
	Antioch	Pauni 10	100 dr. (& gourds)
	Antioch	Pauni 12	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 13	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 15	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 16	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 19	100 dr. (& gourds)
	Antioch	Pauni 20	100 dr. (& carrots(?))
	Antioch	Pauni 21	100 dr. (see below, s. gourds)
	Antioch	Pauni 23	100 dr. (& ?gourds)
	Antioch	Pauni 24	100 dr. (& gourds)
	Antioch	Pauni 25	100 dr. (& gourds)
	Antioch	Pauni 26	100 dr. (& gourds)
	Antioch	Pauni 28	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 30	100 dr.
	- -	- -	- -
	[Epeiph 9–10 are fragmentary]		
	Antioch	Epeiph 11	100 dr. (& cucumbers)
	Antioch	Epeiph 12	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 13	100 dr. (& cucumbers)
	Antioch	Epeiph 14	100 dr. (& olives)
	Antioch	Epeiph 19	100 dr. (& cucumbers)
	"	"	100 dr. (& [] and onions)
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	100 dr. (& olives & cucumbers)
	Antioch	Epeiph 21	[] (& [])

PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
Antioch	Epeiph 22	[] (& cucumbers
	"	100 dr. (& [])
Antioch	Epeiph 23	100 dr. (& gourds)
Antioch	Epeiph 25	100 dr.
Sidon	Mesore 3	100 dr.
Babylon	Mesore 16	100 dr.

Note: The second entries for Epeiph 19 and 22 and the entry for Epeiph 20 (629.132–33, to be added to Roberts's index), give the form λεπτολάχα, "tender" or "young" green vegetables. There is presumably a distinction between this andλάχα, but it does not seem worthwhile to list the terms separately.

Gourds (κολοκύνθοι)	Antioch	Pauni 4	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 5	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 7	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 9	100 dr. (& vegetables)
	Antioch	Pauni 10	100 dr. (& vegetables)
	Antioch	Pauni 11	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 13	100 dr., "for the wedding of Rell(ios)" (??)
	Antioch	Pauni 14	100 dr., for cooking
	Antioch	Pauni 15	100 dr. (& cucumbers)
	Antioch	Pauni 16	100 dr. (& cucumbers)
	Antioch	Pauni 18	100 dr., for cooking
	Antioch	Pauni 19	100 dr. (& vegetables)
	Antioch	Pauni 20	100 dr. (& cucumbers)
	[[Antioch	Pauni 21	100 dr., for cooking]] (see note)
	Antioch	Pauni 22	500 dr., for cooking
	Antioch	Pauni 23?	100 dr. (& vegetables)
	Antioch	Pauni 24	100 dr. (& vegetables)
	Antioch	Pauni 25	100 dr. (& vegetables)
	Antioch	Pauni 26	100 dr. (& vegetables)
	Antioch	Epeiph 11	[] (& kemia)
	Antioch	Epeiph 13	100 dr. (& olive oil/olives)
	Antioch	Epeiph 14	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 17	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 23	100 dr. (& vegetables)
	Antioch	Epeiph 24	[]
	Laodicea	Epeiph 27	[] (& nuts)
	Tripolis?	Epeiph 30	[] (& cucumbers)
	Biblos	Mesore 1	100 dr.
	Berytus?	Mesore 2	[]
	Ascalon	Mesore 8	100 dr.
	Raphia	Mesore 9	100 dr.
	Rhinocolura	Mesore 10	100 dr.

Note: The entry for Pauni 21 is corrected, the wordλάχα, "green vegetables," being written over the phrase "gourds for cooking."

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
“Kemia” (κέμια)	Babylon	Pharmouthi 8	[]
	Babylon	Pharmouthi 9	[]
	Athribis	Pharmouthi 11	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 17	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 18	100 dr. (& lettuces)
	Antioch	Pauni 22	100 dr. (& lettuces)
	Antioch	Pauni 24	100 dr. (& cucumbers)
	Antioch	Epeiph 11	[] (& gourds)
	Antioch	Epeiph 13	100 dr. (& foam of nitre (??))
	Antioch	Epeiph 15	100 dr. (& cucumbers)
	Antioch	Epeiph 18	100 dr. (& salt-fish)
	Antioch	Epeiph 19	50 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	100 dr. (& lettuces)
	Antioch	Epeiph 22	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 23	50 dr. κ[εμίων, cf. Epeiph 19
	Antioch	Epeiph 25	[] (& cucumbers)
	Biblos	Mesore 1?	[] (text very uncertain)
	Sidon	Mesore 3	100 dr.
	Ptolemais?	Mesore 5	100 dr.
	Ascalon	Mesore 8	100 dr.
“Kemoraphanos” (κεμοράφανος)	Antioch	Pachon 13	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 17	500 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 19	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 21	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 23	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 25	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 27/8	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 30	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 3	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 4	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 5	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 6	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 7	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 8	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 9	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 10	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 11	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 12	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 13	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 14	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 15	100 dr. (& lettuces)
	Antioch	Pauni 19	100 dr. (& apricots)
	Antioch	Pauni 20	100 dr. (& lettuces)
	Antioch	Pauni 21	100 dr.

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
	Antioch	Pauni 23	100 dr.
<i>Note: For κέμια and κεμοράφανος see appendix 4.</i>			
Cucumbers (σικύδια)	Antioch	Pauni 5	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 7	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 11	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 14	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 15	100 dr. (& gourds)
	Antioch	Pauni 16	100 dr. (& gourds)
	Antioch	Pauni 18	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 20	100 dr. (& gourds)
	Antioch	Pauni 22	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 24	100 dr. (& kemia)
	Antioch	Pauni 25	100 dr. (& lettuces & artichokes)
	Antioch	Epeiph 11	100 dr. (& vegetables)
	Antioch	Epeiph 13	100 dr. (& vegetables)
	Antioch	Epeiph 15	100 dr. (& kemia)
	Antioch	Epeiph 17	100 dr. (& []) for lunch
	Antioch	Epeiph 19	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	100 dr. (& olives & young veg.)
	Antioch	Epeiph 22	[] (& vegetables)
	Antioch	Epeiph 25	[]
	Tripolis?	Epeiph 30	100 dr. (& grapes)
		"	[] (& gourds)
	Rhinocolura	Mesore 10	100 dr.
	Ostrakine	Mesore 11	100 dr.
Lettuces (θύδρακες)	Babylon	Pharmouthi 5	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 24	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 15	100 dr. (& kemoraphanos)
	Antioch	Pauni 18	100 dr. (& kemia)
	Antioch	Pauni 20	100 dr. (& kemoraphanos)
	Antioch	Pauni 22	100 dr. (& kemia)
	Antioch	Pauni 25	100 dr. (& cucumbers & artichokes)
	Antioch	Epeiph 9	[] (& grapes/carrots?)
	Antioch	Epeiph 16	100 dr. (& apricots & plums)
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	100 dr. (& kemia)
Leeks (κεφαλώτια, πράσα)	Antioch	Pauni 2	100 dr. (κεφαλώτια)
	Ascalon	Mesore 8	100 dr. (πράσα)
	Pelusium	Mesore 12	100 dr. (κεφαλώτια)
Onions (κρομμύδια)	Antioch	Pauni 8	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 13	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 19	100 dr. (& [] & young veg.)
	Laodicea	Epeiph 27	[]

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
Artichokes (κινάρα)	Babylon	Pharmouthi 3	200 dr. for three (& [])
	Babylon	Pharmouthi 9?	[]
	Antioch	Pauni 25	100 dr. (& cucumbers & lettuces)
Garlic (σκόρδον)	Antioch	Pauni 22	100 dr. for one
Carrots (σταφυλινάρια)	Antioch	Pauni 14	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 20	100 dr. (& vegetables)
	Antioch	Epeiph 9	[] (& lettuces)
Nettles (κνήθοι)	Antioch	Pauni 11	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 15	100 dr.
Beet (σεύτλια)	Antioch	Pachon 21	100 dr. for Eudaimon
Olives (ἐλαίαι)	Antioch	Pachon 15	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 18	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 19	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 21	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 23	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 24	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 27/8	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 28/9	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 1	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 3	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 4	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 5	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 6	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 7	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 8	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 10	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 11	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 13	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 15	100 dr. for lunch with Antoninus
	Antioch	Pauni 16	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 19	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 22	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 23	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 25	100 dr. for lunch for the boys
	Antioch	Pauni 27	[]
	Antioch	Pauni 28	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 29(?)	100 dr. (very speculative)

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
	Antioch	Epeiph 14	100 dr. (& vegetables)
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	100 dr. (& young vegetables & cucumbers)
	Pentaschoinos	Mesore 12	200 dr.
Nuts	Antioch	Pachon 13	200 dr. (& dried figs)
(καροΐδια)	Antioch	Pachon 13(?)	200 dr. (& dried figs) (reading [καρο]ΐδια)
	Antioch	Pachon 30	200 dr. (& vegetables)
	Antioch	Pauni 1	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	200 dr. (& dried figs), for lunch
	"	"	100 dr. (& dried figs), for dinner
	Antioch	Pauni 3	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 4	100 dr. (& dried figs), for dinner
	Antioch	Pauni 5	100 dr. (& dried figs), for dinner
	Antioch	Pauni 12	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 15	100 dr. (& dried figs)
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	900 dr. (& wine)
	Laodicea	Epeiph 27	400 dr. (& gourds (?) & [])
	Pelusium	Mesore 13	100 dr.
Dried figs	Antioch	Pachon 13	200 dr. (& nuts)
(σχάδια)	Antioch	Pachon 13(?)	200 dr. (& ?nuts)
	Antioch	Pachon 28/9	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	200 dr. for lunch (& nuts)
	"	"	100 dr. for dinner (& nuts)
	Antioch	Pauni 4	100 dr. for dinner (& nuts)
	Antioch	Pauni 5	100 dr. for dinner (& nuts)
	Antioch	Pauni 6	200 dr., for garum
	Antioch	Pauni 15	200 dr. (& nuts)
<i>Note:</i> It is possible that the twin entries for nuts and dried figs on Pachon 13 are repeated by mistake; appendix 3, on 639.22.			

Fresh figs	Antioch	Pauni 8	200 dr.
(σῦκα)	Antioch	Epeiph 19	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 22	[] (& [])
	Laodicea	Epeiph 27	[]
	Biblos	Mesore 2	[]
	Ascalon	Mesore 8	100 dr.
	(S)kenai/Heliopolis	Mesore 15	100 dr.

Melon	Antioch	Epeiph 11	[]
(πεπόνιον)	Antioch	Epeiph 14	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 17	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 21	[]

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
	Antarados?	Epeiph 29	100 dr.
	Ptolemais?	Mesore 5	100 dr.
	Raphia	Mesore 9	100 dr.
Apricots (ἄρμμένα)	Antioch	Pauni 10	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 15	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 19	100 dr. (& kemoraphanos)
	Antioch	Pauni 20	100 dr. (& plums)
	Antioch	Pauni 22	300 dr. for 4 (& dates & ?plums)
	Antioch	Epeiph 16	100 dr. (& lettuces & plums)
	Antioch	Epeiph 25(?)	100 dr. (& grapes)
	Berytus?	Mesore 2(?)	[] (& peaches)
Peaches (δωράκια)	Berytus?	Mesore 2	[] (& ?apricots)
	Ascalon	Mesore 8	100 dr.
	"	"	100 dr., "more peaches by choice"
	Rhinocolura	Mesore 10	200 dr.
Plums (δαμασκενοί)	Antioch	Pauni 20	200 dr. (& ?apricots)
	Antioch	Pauni 22(?)	300 dr. (& dates & apricots)
	Antioch	Epeiph 16	100 dr. (& apricots & lettuces)
	Ascalon	Mesore 8	300 dr.
Dates (φοίνικες)	Antioch	Pauni 22	300 dr. (& ?plums & apricots)
Mulberries (μόρια)	Antioch	?	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 17	200 dr.
Sycamore figs (σκάμια)	Raphia	Mesore 9	100 dr.
	Pelusium	Mesore 12	200 dr.
Apples (μῆλα)	Antioch	Epeiph 26	[]
	Ascalon	Mesore 8	100 dr.
Grapes (σταφύλια)	Antioch	Epeiph 18	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 19	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 24	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 25	100 dr. (& apricots)
	"	"	[], "more ?grapes"
	Tripolis?	Epeiph 30	100 dr. (& cucumbers)
	Biblos	Mesore 1	100 dr.
	Berytus?	Mesore 2	[]
	Sidon	Mesore 3	100 dr.
	Ascalon	Mesore 8	100 dr.

PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
Raphia	Mesore 9	100 dr.
Ostrakine	Mesore 11	200 dr. for lunch
Babylon	Mesore 17	200 dr.

6. Other Foods, Condiments, etc.

Eggs (ῥα)	Babylon	Pharmouthi 9	[]
	Athribis	Pharmouthi 11	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 18	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 23	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 24	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 27/8	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 28/9	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 3	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 4	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 5	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 6	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 7	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 9	400 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 10	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 11	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 12	[[]] (entry deleted)
	Antioch	Pauni 13	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 14	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 15	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 16	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 20	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 21	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 22	400 dr. for lunch
	Antioch	Pauni 23	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 24	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 25	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 26	200 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 9	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 13	200 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 17	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 18	200 dr.
	"	"	100 dr. (2nd entry)
	Antioch	Epeiph 19	200 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	400 dr. for lunch and for dinner
	Antioch	Epeiph 21	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 22	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 24	[]
	Tripolis?	Epeiph 30	300 dr.
	Sidon	Mesore 3	200 dr.

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
	Ascalon	Mesore 8	200 dr.
	Rhinocolura	Mesore 10	400 dr. for dinner
	"	"	400 dr. for the journey
	Pelusium	Mesore 13	400 dr. for the journey
Cheese (τυρίον)	Antioch	Pachon 15	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 18	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 21	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 28/9	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 1	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 3	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 5	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 6	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 7	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 8	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 10	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 11	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 13	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 15	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 16	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 17	100 dr.
	[[Antioch	Pauni 20	]] (entry deleted)
	Antioch	Pauni 22	200 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 19	100 dr. for lunch
	Raphia	Mesore 9	200 dr.
	Ostrakine	Mesore 11	200 dr.
	Kasion	"	300 dr. for dinner
	Pelusium	Mesore 13	200 dr.
	Babylon	Mesore 18	200 dr. for the boys
<i>Note:</i> The entries for Pachon-Epeiph use the singular form as given above, those for Mesore the plural (τυρίων). This is obviously just a change in bookkeeping idiom but says something about the nature of the item.			

Fish-sauce/garum (γάρος)	Antioch	Pachon 24	1,200 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 30	1,200 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 15	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 16	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 17	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 18	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 19	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 21	[] dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 23	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 24	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 25	[]

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
	Ascalon	Mesore 8	200 dr. for 1 xestes
	Pelusium	Mesore 13	[]
	<i>See also</i> anchovies (βορίδια), and dried figs (σχάδια), s. Pauni 6		
Salt (ἄλς)	Antioch	Pauni 3	200 dr. (after “meat for salting”)
	Antioch	Pauni 6	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 20	100 dr.
<i>Note:</i> For (σαλα-)κονδίτον as ?spiced salt, see below, s. spiced wine			
Relish (ὄψον)	Babylon	Pharmouthi 3	400 dr
Honey (μέλι)	Babylon	Pharmouthi 3	100 dr. for the [. . .]μα
	Antioch	Pauni 20	100 dr. for the rice cake
	Antioch	Pauni 29	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 25	[]
Spelt-grits (ἀλίκι(ο)ν)	Antioch	Pauni 20	100 dr. provided by Silvanus
	Antioch	Pauni 29	100 dr.
<i>Note:</i> See appendix 2 on 629.293. On Pauni 20 honey is stated to be “for the spelt-grits,” and on Pauni 29 the entries for grits and honey are in successive lines.			
Nitre, soda (νίτρον)	Babylon	Phamenoth 27	700 dr.
	[[Athribis	Pharmouthi 12	200 dr.]] deleted entry
	Antioch	Pauni 24	200 dr.
Syrup (γλυκύ)	Laodicea?	Pachon 8	200 dr., for [] spathia, for sweetening
?Spiced wine (κονδίτον)	Antioch	Pauni 25	100 dr. (or spiced salt, σαλακονδίτον?)
Water carrier (παραχύτης)	Babylon	Pharmouthi 4	100 dr.
	Antarados?	Epeiph 29(?)	[]
<i>Note:</i> See appendix 2 on 630*.277ff.			
Snow water (χίονος ὕδωρ)	Biblos	Mesore 1	100 dr.
Fine meal (γύριος)	Antioch?	Pauni?	200 dr. (for medicinal purposes?)
Coriander seed (κορόσπερμον)	Antioch	Epeiph 15	100 dr.

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
Cumin (κύμινον)	Sidon	Mesore 3	100 dr.
Bean soup? (φαβᾶτον)	Antipatris	Mesore 7	200 dr., for the boys

7. Other Items

Firewood	Antioch	Pachon 15	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 21	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 23(?)	[]
	Antioch	Pachon 27/8	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 28/9	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 2	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 3	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 4	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 5	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 6	200 dr. for cooking
	Antioch	Pauni 7	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 8	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 9	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 10	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 11	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 12	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 13	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 14	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 15	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 16	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 17	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 18	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 19	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 20	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 21	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 22	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 23	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 24	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 25	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 26	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 27	[], from Hermes(?)
	Antioch	Pauni 28	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 29	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 29?	200 dr.
	(Pauni 30 and Epeiph 9–10 are fragmentary)		
	Antioch	Epeiph 11	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 12	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 13	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 14	200 dr.

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
	"	"	100 dr. (2nd entry)
	Antioch	Epeiph 15	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 16	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 17	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 18	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 19	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 20	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 21	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 22	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 23	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 24	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 25	[]
	Balanea?	Epeiph 28	[] from the same (<i>pl.</i>)
	(Epeiph 29 and Mesore 4 & 6 below are fragmentary)		
	Tripolis?	Epeiph 30	100 dr.
	Biblos	Mesore 1	[]
	Berytus?	Mesore 2	100 dr.
	Sidon	Mesore 3	200 dr.
	Ptolemais?	Mesore 5	100 dr.
	Ascalon	Mesore 8	100 dr.
	Pelusium	Mesore 13	200 dr.
The baths	Antioch	Pachon 17	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 23	300 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 9	200 dr. with Antoninus
	Antioch	Pauni 13	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 21	200 dr. to you, for the bath with the party of Antoninus
	Antioch	Pauni 27	[200 dr.?] with Antoninus
	Antioch	Epeiph 13	100 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 25	[]
	Kata Hydata	Epeiph 26	[]
	Tripolis?	Epeiph 30	[], dinner after the bath
	Biblos	Mesore 1	200 dr. to the ἐπέται
	Sidon	Mesore 3	300 dr.
	Ptolemais?	?Mesore 5	300 dr., text uncertain
Note: For other visits to the baths, see the following entries (oil, foam of nitre).			
Oil for the baths	Babylon	Phamenoth 27	100 dr. for the bath
	Biblos	Mesore 2	[] for the bath
Foam of nitre (ἀφόνιτρον)	Antioch	Pachon 23	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pachon 28/9	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 6	100 dr. for the bath
	Antioch	Pauni 13	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 21	100 dr.

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
	Antioch	Pauni 27(?)	[100 dr.?] [ἀφόνιτ]ρου
	Antioch	Epeiph 11	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 13	100 dr. (and kemia?)
	Antioch	Epeiph 24	[]
	Antioch	Epeiph 25	[]
	Laodicea	Epeiph 27	[]
	Berytus?	Mesore 2	[]
	Sidon	Mesore 3	[]
	Ptolemais?	Mesore 5	100 dr.

Note: Entries for ἀφόνιτρον (a misspelling for ἀφρόνιτρον also found in Diocletian's Prices Edict (36.46)) are often—in up to 10 of the 13 references listed above—found either adjacent or very close to references to the baths; it is on this basis that the conjectural supplement is provided for Pauni 27.

Soap (σαφώνιον)	Ascalon	Pharmouthi 26	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 7	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 15	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 20	100 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 25	100 dr.
	Biblos	Mesore 2	[]

Antimony (σίβι)	Babylon	Pharmouthi 5	100 dr.
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Slippers (σόλιον)	Antioch	Pauni 21	300 dr. for the bath
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Note: For the meaning of σόλιον, see appendix 3 on 629.309.

Paper (κολλήματα χάρτου)	Antioch	Pauni 4	200 dr. for 2 κολλήματα
	Antioch	Pauni 8	400 dr. for 4 κολλήματα
	Antioch	Pauni 10	400 dr. to Horos at your instruction
	Antioch	Pauni 18	300 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 17	700 dr. to the soldier
	Antioch	Epeiph 25	200 dr.

Sponge (σφόγγος)	Antioch	Pauni ?	[] from the physician
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Boots (καλίκια, sc. caligae)	Babylon	Pharmouthi 7	300 dr. for Horos
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Hat (πίλιον)	Pelusium	Pharmouthi	2,400 dr.
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	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
?Clothing (βέστας, sc. vestes?)	Antioch	Pachon 13	1,200 dr.
Gilded statue of emperor	Ascalon	Pharmouthi 24	cost not stated
Wooden bowls	Antioch	Pauni 11	400 dr.
Plate (βάτελλη, sc. patella)	Allage	Mesore 6	300 dr.
Jar (σάμβαθον)	Ostrakine	Mesore 11	300 dr.
Silenus wine jar	Pelusium	Mesore 13	1,600 dr.
<i>Note:</i> This item was bought at Tyre but accounted for at Pelusium			
Rings (κρίκια)	Babylon	Pharmouthi 6	30 dr. for 3 rings
Fodder for pack animals (χόρτος τῶν κτηνῶν)	Kabaseitos (Tacasarta?)	Mesore 15	400 dr.

8. Other Expenses

Theater tickets	Ascalon?	Pharmouthi 24	[] for theater and odeion
Daughter's birthday	Ptolemais/Tyre	Pharmouthi 28	cost not stated
To Heracleon	Laodicea?	Pachon 7?	[], purpose not stated
To Sarmatians	Laodicea? "	Pachon 7? "	400 dr. to six Sarmatians 500 dr. for the use of the Sarmatians
Repair of crockery (κόλλησις κουκουμίων)	Antioch Antioch	Pachon 19 Pachon 28/9	100 dr. 200 dr.

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
To the mender (ὕπῃτης, ῃπῃτης)	Antioch	Pachon 13	600 dr. for two tunics
	Antioch	Pauni 24	400 dr. for two tunics
	Antioch	Epeiph 23	600 dr. ῃ[πῃτη]
<i>Note:</i> see Appendix 3, on 630*.181			
To the fuller (γναφεύς)	Antioch	Pauni 21	1,400 dr. for cleaning a cloak
	Antioch	Pauni 23	800 dr. for a cloak (2nd payment?)
To the Panopolitai	Antioch	Pachon 24	3,000 dr. "at your instruction"
Lunch with the <i>officiales</i>	Antioch	Pachon 24	600 dr.
Lunch with Antoninus	Antioch	Pauni 22	200 dr.
	Antioch	Pauni 24	200 dr.
<i>Note:</i> See also Pauni 15, 20, 22, etc.			
Lunch with []	Antioch	Epeiph 9	[]
Religious observance(?)	Antioch	Pauni 30	1 tal. to the [] (<i>pl.</i>) for εὐσεβεία (?)
To the man from Oxyrhynchus	Antioch	Epeiph 13	[]
For the agreement (συμβολή)	Antioch	Epeiph 12	2,100 dr., to your (<i>sc.</i> Theophanes') hand
	"	"	1,700 dr. to Hermes, from you
	Antioch	Epeiph 14	1,900 dr., to you
	"	"	1,000 dr. to Hermes from you, also for the agreement
	Antioch	Epeiph 15	2,400 dr. to your hand
	Antioch	Epeiph 26	[] to you
	Heliopolis	Mesore 16	1,000 dr. to you
To the steno- grapher (ὀξυγράφος)	Antioch	Epeiph 25	3,000 dr. for the agreement
To the widow of [. . .]	Antioch	Epeiph 25	[] (for the rent?)
To the attendants (τοῖς ἐπέταις)	Antioch	Epeiph 12	600 dr.
	Biblos	Mesore 1	200 dr. for the bath

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
At the lodging	Tripolis?	Epeiph 30	[] after the bath with the party of Hermodorus
	Ptolemais?	Mesore 5	300 dr. with the party of Eulogius
	Caesarea	Mesore 6	[] with Dion and Hermodoros
For the ξμβασις πρε()	Biblos	Mesore 1	[]
To the <i>magisterion</i>	Pelusium	Mesore 13	[]
For the <i>koinon</i>	Babylon	Mesore 17	2,600 dr.
<i>Note:</i> Cf. wine “for the boat” on Mesore 17, §3 above			

Unknown	Antioch	Epeiph 18	1,000 dr. for [] with ?Hermodorus
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9. Personal Transactions

From Eulogius	?	?	1 tal., 400 dr.
	Pelusium	Pharmouthi 18	1 tal.
	Gaza	Pharmouthi 23	1 tal.

Note: These three transactions occur together in *P.Ryl.* 627.262–64. It might be assumed that the first, which is not dated or located, precedes the other two.

“To you,” “to your hand”	Balaneion	Pachon 5	200 dr. for loaves
	Laodicea	Pachon 7	200 dr. for meat for dinner
	Antioch	Pauni 21	200 dr. for the bath with party of Antoninus
	Antioch	Pauni 26	100 dr., purpose unstated
	Antioch	Epeiph 12	2,100 dr. for the agreement
	Antioch	Epeiph 14	1,900 dr. for the agreement
	Antioch	Epeiph 15	2,400 for the agreement
	Antioch	Epeiph 26	[] for the agreement
	Sk[]	Epeiph 27	[] for lunch
	Laodicea	"	[] [wine] to you (<i>pl.</i>) for dinner
	Tripolis?	Epeiph 30	[] wine for lunch
	Biblos	Mesore 1	[] wine for lunch
	Sidon	Mesore 3	400 dr. “for []”
	Raphia	Mesore 9	300 dr., wine for dinner
	Rhinocolura	Mesore 10	1,400 dr., wine for you (<i>pl.</i>) for lunch
	Kabaseitos (Tacasarta?)	Mesore 14	400 dr. for drinks with Hermodoros
	(S)kenai	Mesore 15	200 dr. for wine cups
	Heliopolis	Mesore 16	1,000 dr. for the agreement
“To the master”	Antioch	Pachon 17	200 dr.

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
To Eudaimon	Babylon	?Pharmouthi 10	1 tal. in coined silver for the attendant of the <i>katholikos</i>
	Caesarea	Pharmouthi 26	no figure given
	Laodicea	Pachon 7	800 dr. for lunch
	Laodicea	Pachon 8	100 dr. from Hermes for cost of meat bought at Caesarea
	Laodicea?	Pachon 9	1,100 dr.
	Laodicea?	"	300 dr. for lunch
	Antioch	Pauni 3	400 dr. "to Eudaimon, for []"
	[[cash in hand	Pauni 13	[] tal., 2,000 dr.]] (entry deleted)
To Hermes	Arcae?	Pachon 3	[]
	Laodicea	Pachon 7	1,500 dr. "remaining at Laodicea"
	Laodicea?	Pachon 9	500 dr. "r[emaining at Laodicea"]??
	?	Pachon 11	500 dr.
	Antioch	Epeiph 12	1,700 dr.. to H. "on your (sc. Theophanes') account for the agreement"
	Antioch	Epeiph 14	1,000 dr.. to H. "on your account, also for the agreement"
	Antioch	Epeiph 22	300 dr. "to Hermes"
For Silvanus	Antioch	Pachon 24	3 tal. [] dr. "on behalf of Silvanus to the ατ[. . .]"
To Horos	(Laodicea)	Pachon 7	200 dr. "coming from Laodicea"
	Antioch	Pauni 10	400 dr. "at your instruction, cost of paper"
To Horos and Theon	Antioch	Epeiph 25	1,500 dr.
"To us"	Antioch	Epeiph 24	[] (next line, 200 dr. "for the boys")
	Kata Hydata	Epeiph 26	[] for dinner
	Theouprosopon	Mesore 1	[] wine for us to drink
	Ptolemais?	Mesore 5?	"to me personally" (?followed by list of expenditures)
	Abella	Mesore 8	200 dr., bread for us for lunch
	Raphia	Mesore 9	500 dr. for drinks with the boys and with Dion & Alexandros
To Theon the <i>officialis</i>	Laodicea	Epeiph 27	[]
To the attendant arriving from Hermopolis	Babylon	Pharmouthi 3	200 dr.

	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
Through [], leaving for Hermopolis	Antioch?	Pauni?	1 tal.

10. Periodic Totals

1(a) Receipts from the previous month, and from Harpalos Total	Antinoopolis?	Phamenoth?	3 tal. 5,800 dr. 2 tal. 5 tal. 800 dr.
Expenses: to complete payment of 100 tal. to Theodoulos, to Herminos the <i>adiutor</i> , for raw linen, to the person coming from the <i>katholikos</i> (??), Total expenses			700 dr. 2 tal. 3,000 dr. [] [] tal. 200 dr.

Note: This group of entries (627.130–41) is not connected with the journey but may immediately precede it (see above, chapter 3).

1(b) The following entry, drawn up apparently at Pelusium (which is where Theophanes was on the evening of Pharmouthi 17), seems to review the expenses of the journey to that point. The “new account” will then be what is drawn on in the following period.

Expenses from [] to 17th Pharmouthi inclusive, to the wine account, makes altogether, From 18th, to the new account, to hand,		1 tal. 5,900 dr. 1 tal. 4,000 dr. 3 tal. 4,900 (sc. 3,900) dr. 33 tal. 3,000 dr.
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1(c) The following entries are monthly and other totals drawn from the memoranda of the journey itself, beginning at the moment when the party seems to have taken up residence at Antioch (chapter 5):

Pachon:

(i) Expenses to Pachon 9	Antioch	(Pachon 10)	[] tal., 4,500 dr.
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	PLACE	DATE	COST & ANNOTATIONS
(ii) Grand total	Antioch	Pachon?	140(+) tal., 1,000 dr.
<i>Note:</i> It is unclear what this “grand total” refers to. The entry is fragmentary and occurs at the bottom of a column of the draft accounts for Pachon. It interrupts the accounting for Pachon 10–15 and appears to be a note put in for later use.			
Pauni:			
(i) Total expenses for the month	Antioch	Pauni 30	18 tal., 4,400 dr.
(ii) ?Balance in hand	Antioch	Pauni 30	?41 tal., 4,000 dr.
Mesore:			
Total expenses from 1 to 23 inclusive	?Hermopolis	Mesore 23	11 tal., 5,900 dr.
<i>Note:</i> No monthly total is extant for Epeiph, for which the records only exist in draft form. However, if there was a balance of over 41 talents at the end of Pauni and only just under 12 talents were spent in Mesore 1–23, there were adequate resources for the high expenditures (e.g., on the agreement itself) in Epeiph.			

Appendix 4 *Kemia and Kemoraphanos*

THE MEANING OF THESE TWO TERMS, which occur frequently in the memoranda (see appendix 3), has not been established with any certainty. Roberts commented that κέμια were “probably not a form of καίμιον but . . . some kind of vegetable and may be connected with the Coptic καμ, *reed, rush*” (p. 123, on *P.Ryl.* 627.192). Roberts did not pause to explain that καίμιον also would derive from a Coptic word, *gaime*, meaning a small bird or fowl (L. & S., rev. ed., p. 858, referring to *P.Oxy.* 1656.14). These are somewhat arcane interpretations, especially for a text that nowhere else shows any signs of Coptic influence, but to judge by the articles with which it is sometimes purchased, the item does indeed look like a kind of vegetable. A fragment cited by Roberts as part of the memoranda (*P.Ryl.* 631a) gives the regular Greek ὀρνιθ(ίων) for birds (appendix 2, on *P.Ryl.* 630*.277ff.), which would confirm Roberts’s sense of the meaning, if not the derivation, of κέμια. He had nothing to say on κεμοράφανος.

It would be surprising if the κέμ- element in κέμια meant something quite different from what it does in κεμοράφανος, where the second element -ράφανος clearly indicates a vegetable of some sort. One might at first wonder whether the two items were the same thing, the difference being due merely to a change of hand in keeping the record. This suspicion might be enhanced by the fact that κεμοράφανος remains in constant use in Pachon and in Pauni until 23rd of the month, when it disappears abruptly, whereas κέμια appear regularly in every month from Pharmouthi to Mesore. Against their identification is the fact that the two words alternate in a sequence of days in Pauni, where the accounts are undoubtedly the work of one hand: κέμια on 18, 22, and 24 and κεμοράφανος on 19–21 and 23 (as well as every day from

Pauni 2 to 15); while on Pachon 17 the two items were bought on the same day, in each case for the highest price recorded for them. The two items must be distinct, but it is not at all easy to pin down what they were.

In its chapter on vegetables, Diocletian's prices edict lists an item named as "cymae (in the Aphrodisias version; "cumae" at Stratonicea) optimae," sold in bundles ("fascies") at 4 denarii each. The Latin word is a transliteration of the Greek κύμα, a swelling or shoot, despite which the Greek equivalent used by the edict is ὀρμένον, a different word with more or less the same meaning. It is also interesting that the original Greek neuter gender of κύμα (-ατος, pl. κύματα) migrates into Latin in the feminine (*cuma*, -ae, pl. *cumae*). The word is sometimes spelled in Latin as *cima* and comes into Italian in this form, again in the feminine gender (pl. *cime*), in the sense of top or summit. Like the ancient Greek translator of the prices edict, its modern Italian translator uses a quite different phrase to translate it; "germogli di cavolo," or "cabbage shoots." The entry directly follows those for regular cabbage, listed as *colicoli* and κραμβῶν, as usual in first and second qualities (6.9–10).

The neuter plural of κέμια causes no difficulty for this interpretation, the reduction of regular forms to this sort of diminutive neuter being a common linguistic feature of the Theophanes memoranda (as in ὀρνίθια/-ίων for birds, mentioned above). The vowel shift from Greek κύμα to Latin *cuma* and hence to *cima* is also a regular occurrence in transcriptions between the two languages. Harder to explain is the shift from -v- or -t- to the -ε- of κέμια and κεμοράφανος, but it might be accounted for by the sound of the word as spoken and its use in the marketplace (in England there is a version of the language known as "Greengrocers' English" because of the irregular spellings used on market placards), and it has the advantage of making immediate sense of κεμοράφανος.

The word ράφανος, widely used in place of κράμβη as a generic term for cabbage, appears in Diocletian's edict opposite the Latin equivalent *rapa* for the turnip (botanical name *brassica rapa*). It appears that in the text of the edict (6.16–17 and 18–19), the Greek and Latin terms for radish ("radices, ραφάνοι") and turnip ("rapae, γογγύλαι") have been interchanged, but these plants are closely related and in their terminology cannot always be strictly distinguished. Radishes, turnips, and beet (*Edict* 6.14–15) are among the many plants whose young leaves as well as their roots can be eaten, and the most likely meaning of κεμοράφανος is that of greens from a variety of radish or similar root crop. The radish is thought to have evolved in its cultivated form (*raphanus sativus*) in the eastern Mediterranean area (J. G. Vaughan and C. A. Geissler, *The New Oxford Book of Food Plants* [1997], pp. 180–81, cf. 168–69), which would make it an especially fitting constituent of Theophanes' diet. The word κεμοράφανος itself is a rather striking anticipation of "cime de rapa," a succulent dish of spring greens served with garlic and lashings of olive oil, much enjoyed in southern Italy. Κέμια might, like the *cymae* of Diocletian's edict, be the young shoots of some member of the cabbage family, such as the

ancient equivalents of kale, kohlrabi, broccoli (which itself means sprouts or shoots), or calabresi. It may be relevant that according to Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae* 1.34c) men from Egypt habitually, and still in his own day, put boiled cabbage at the head of their dinner menus, to mitigate the effects of the wine, of which they were extremely fond. I understand that it is also a well-tried Hungarian remedy for the same condition.

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Index

It is in the nature of this book, which is about the routines of ordinary life, that terms may occur repeatedly from page to page, as they did from day to day in Theophanes' memoranda; the index does not attempt the absurd task of registering every occurrence, but only those instances where something positive is said about the term in question. For the same reason it does not refer directly to the translated sections of the archive, but to the commentary that surrounds them, and to the more substantial discussions in the appendixes. Greek terms appear in English transcriptions; they are given in Greek in appendix 3, from where, and from the annotations in appendix 2, they can be followed through to the translated texts. A comprehensive Index of Greek and Latin terms for the whole of *P.Ryl.* 4, of which the Theophanes archive forms part, can be found in Roberts's edition at pp. 183–211.

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